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An Historical Review

VOL. XVI
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THE SITE OF THE GREAT ILLINOIS VILLAGE

After reading and rereading the topographical problem anent the Great Illinois Village, as stated by Father Garraghan,¹ and while engaged in studying the career of one of La Salle's companions, the Franciscan missionary Father Zénobe Membré, the writer gradually evolved what seemed to him to be a satisfactory solution of the problem in question; and he now makes bold to present it for what it is worth, even though it is at variance with the opinion of such an eminent historian as Parkman.

Father Garraghan called attention to an apparent contradiction in the statements of the early French accounts regarding the location of the Great Illinois Village, as well as to the fact that some of these accounts seemed to indicate a site other than that pointed out by Parkman. Our solution of the problem in question, though it does not agree with Parkman's conclusions, harmonizes all of the early descriptions designating in some detail the site of the Great Village,—all, except one which is an evident mistake.

Though the writer has never visited that portion of the Illinois River which divides La Salle County into a northern and a southern half (at this point, it must be remembered, the river flows east to west), he has carefully examined this section as shown on several maps of the state of Illinois, the accompanying sketch being an enlargement, based mainly on a large wall map of Illinois. We are confident that a visit to the places indicated for the purpose of verifying the distances between

¹ Garraghan, Gilbert J., "The Great Illinois Village: a Topographical Problem." *Mid-America*, XIV, New Series III, 141-151 (October, 1931). Also reprinted as a pamphlet.

them (by water), would corroborate the conclusions set forth in this paper; for we have no reason to think that the maps consulted are grossly inaccurate in their measurements.

Before discussing in detail the history of the Great Illinois Village in as far as it affects its location, it will be well to prefix some remarks of a general and summary character. Originally the Great Village was the home of but one Indian tribe, the Kaskaskia Illinois (1673); then, before the year 1677, perhaps even before 1675, it grew into the Great Illinois Village, inasmuch as other Illinois tribes took up their abode near the Kaskaskia, the principal tribe of Illinois Indians. As early as 1677, the Great Village comprised eight distinct tribes, including, besides the Kaskaskia, very probably also the Peoria, Kaho-kia, Tamaroa, Moingona. Most likely they did not mingle but settled as separate groups, one adjoining the other, though there may have been a short distance between their villages. All of these villages, taken together, constituted the Great Village, varying at different times in population as well as extent, always, however, situate in the same general neighborhood, until it was destroyed by the invading Iroquois in September, 1680. At one time the Great Village extended for three and a quarter miles along the river. During the winter the Indians left the Great Village, each tribe going to its own favorite hunting grounds and there setting up their winter camp. Early in spring they gradually returned to the Great Village. But they made hunting excursions, at least to some extent, also during the summer.

While examining the French accounts of the latter seventeenth century, it occurred to the writer that their seemingly conflicting statements could very well be harmonized, if one supposed the Great Village, situate, as it undoubtedly was, on the northern bank of the Illinois River and extending some three miles east and west, to have been neither upon the site of present Utica nor upon that of Ottawa but at a place somewhere between these two towns. After sketching a map and determining the exact distances between the landmarks along the river, the writer was agreeably surprised that the measurements given in the French accounts were remarkably consonant with his supposition. One by one difficulties disappeared and conclusions took shape.

Properly to indicate the bases for these conclusions as well as the process of reasoning, it will be necessary to narrate

briefly the history of the Great Village from 1673 to 1680, and to adduce from contemporary accounts what successive French visitors mentioned to identify location of the Village.

In September, 1673, Father Marquette, accompanying Jolliet, visited what came to be the nucleus of the Great Illinois Village. The missionary referred to it as "a village of the Illinois called Kaskaskia consisting of 74 cabins."² His map, as well as that of Jolliet, both dating from the year 1674, indicate the "Kachkachkia" village as being on the north bank of the Illinois.³

In April, 1675, when Father Marquette again visited "the village of the Illinois"—no doubt, identical with the "Kachkachkia" village—he found it to have increased considerably in population, "being composed of 5 or 600 fires"; and "in a beautiful prairie close to a village which was selected by the Great Council" he addressed an audience of 2,000 men (500 chiefs and elders and 1,500 young men) besides women and children.⁴ From this description it would seem that already at this time several villages had been established in one and the same locality and constituted one large village; and the Indians in the several villages may well have belonged to different tribes of the Illinois family.

Two years after Father Marquette's second visit, Father Allouez, S. J., was a visitor at "Kachkachkia" in April-May, 1677, and dwelt in "the cabin in which Father Marquette had lodged." He expressly calls it "the great village of the Illinois" and advises us that it comprised "eight tribes who were housed in 351 cabins . . . situated upon the banks of the river." A long stretch of prairie lay on one side of the village and upon the other a multitude of swamps.⁵

At the end of the year 1679, La Salle and his party, after a journey of some 130 leagues from Fort Miami (St. Joseph, Mich.)⁶, stopped at the Great Village of the Illinois. They

² Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 161. For this as well as many other citations which are to follow the writer is indebted to Father Garraghan's article in *Mid-America*, October, 1931.

³ Both maps are given in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LIX.

⁴ *Ibid.*, LIX, 189.

⁵ *Ibid.*, LIX, 159-161.

⁶ Thwaites, *Hennepin's A New Discovery*, I, 145. Cf. also Shea, *Le Clercq's First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, II, 117, where an abridgment of the first part of Father Membré's *Relation* says they had traveled 100 or 120 leagues. These long distances do not help us to determine the exact site of the Great Village.

found it deserted, the Indians having gone away to their usual winter haunts and hunts, some of them to the southern end of Lake Pimiteoui (Peoria), thirty leagues farther down the river.⁷ According to the *Official Narrative* of this expedition of La Salle (1679-1681), the village consisted of 460 cabins, each cabin having four or five fires and each fire one or two families.⁸ An abridgment of Father Membré's *Relation* of this journey, made by his confrere Father Christian LeClercq, refers to the Great Village as "the greatest village of the Illinois, composed of about 4 or 500 cabins each with five or six families."⁹

Leaving the Great Village on January 1, 1680, La Salle's party reached a winter camp of Illinois Indians at the outlet of Lake Peoria on January 4.¹⁰ Two months later, at the end of February, these Indians began to return to the Great Village; and Father Membré accompanied them to continue the missionary work he had commenced among them.¹¹ Soon after, La Salle left Fort Crèvecoeur, which he had meanwhile built on the east side of the river just below Lake Peoria, and entered upon his famous overland journey to Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ontario) to fetch needed supplies. On March 11 he reached the Great Village—that part of the village at least where Father Membré then was—and remained with the missionary for twenty-four hours.¹² Parkman questions this statement of Father Membré and represents the Great Village as being "still void of its inhabitants," preferring the testimony of the *Official Narrative*.¹³ But the same *Official Narrative* relates how La Salle met Chassagoac, the principal chief of the Illinois, in the Great Village;¹⁴ and it adds that La Salle finally left the Great Village only on March 16.¹⁵ These discrepancies can be explained. They become intelligible if one supposes that, at the time of La Salle's sojourn in the Great Village (March 11-16,

⁷ Tonti's Memoir in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 289.

⁸ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, I, 466. This *Official Narrative*, compiled and prepared in France by La Salle's friend, the Abbé Bernou, has been reprinted, with a translation by M. B. Anderson, for the Caxton Club, Chicago, 1901.

⁹ Shea, *LeClercq's First Establishment of the Faith*, II, 117-118.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Thwaites, *Hennepin's A New Discovery*, I, 145.

¹¹ Father Membré's Narrative in Shea, *LeClercq's First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, II, 130-131.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 130.

¹³ Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 12th edn., 177.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 177-178.

¹⁵ Margry, *op. cit.*, II, 58.

1680), one part of it had been reoccupied by Indians from the Lake Peoria camp, Father Membré among them, while the other part was "still void of its inhabitants." Such, we believe, was actually the case.

To indicate the grounds supporting this opinion, we must introduce at this point four contemporary statements which, when taken jointly, seem to us definitely to determine the precise location and extent of the Great Village. They are as follows:

(a) The *Official Narrative*, speaking of the Iroquois invasion in September, 1680, declares that the Aramoni (Vermilion) River joins the Illinois River two leagues (five miles)¹⁶ below the village.¹⁷ Five miles east of the Vermilion, on our map, is a point about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles east of Starved Rock (not west of Starved Rock, at present Utica, as Parkman claimed).¹⁸

(b) Tonti's Memoir, relating a visit to what was no doubt Starved Rock, during the month of March, 1680, says the eminence was a half league ($1\frac{1}{4}$ mile) from the Illinois Village.¹⁹ Taken in conjunction with the above statement, the sense is that the Illinois Village was situated $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles east of Starved Rock (not west of Starved Rock, as Parkman contended).

(c) In a letter written some time between March, 1683, and the fall of that year,²⁰ La Salle tells us that "the old village of the Kaskaskia Illinois, who abandoned it after the defeat inflicted three years ago by the Iroquois" was situate two leagues (five miles) west of the mouth of the Pestegouki (Fox) River.²¹ This place, as will be seen on the accompanying map, is identical with the site now occupied by the town of Twin Bluffs; and thus the Illinois Village mentioned in the preceding statement to Tonti and "the old village of the Kaskaskia Illinois"

¹⁶ The French league was plainly equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Thus Professor Bolton found the site of La Salle's Fort St. Louis in Texas on the Garcitas River, which in the French accounts was said to be two leagues up the river, to be five miles from that river's mouth. Cf. Bolton, "The Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II, 165-182 (September, 1915). This concrete example is more reliable than a scale on one of the maps in Hennepin's *A New Discovery* which makes the French league equivalent to three English miles.

¹⁷ Anderson's translation of the *Official Narrative*, 197.

¹⁸ Parkman, *op. cit.*, 178, where he says that Starved Rock was "a mile or more above (east) of the village."

¹⁹ Anderson's translation of Tonti's short *Relation* of 1684, 33.

²⁰ This letter refers to Fort St. Louis, completed in March, 1683, as already built; and in the fall of that year La Salle departed for France.

²¹ *Feuilles detachées d'un lettre de De Salle*, Margry, II, 175.

mentioned in La Salle's letter were about three miles apart. From the next statement we shall adduce, it is clear that the intervening space was likewise occupied by Indian villages, all of them together comprising the Great Village.

(d) From the Official Narrative also, we learn that the Illinois village, situate on the north bank of the Illinois River, extended "for a league and a quarter of a league" ($3\frac{1}{8}$ miles) along the river.²² This statement, then, taken together with the above statements, indicates that the old Kaskaskia village constituted the eastern extremity of the Great Village, and that the Great Village accordingly extended from what is now Twin Bluffs, for $3\frac{1}{8}$ miles, on the northern bank of the Illinois River, to a point $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles east of Starved Rock.

To resume the thread of our story, the Indians from the winter camp at Lake Peoria very probably, in late February, 1680, settled at the western end of the Great Village, and there La Salle was Father Membré's guest on March 11. The explorer found the eastern part still unoccupied, and he left the eastern end (the old Kaskaskia village) on March 16.

La Salle's companions, we are told in the *Official Narrative*, "carried his canoe and his effects as far as to a rapid four leagues above the village."²³ These rapids were the *Grand Rapids* of the Illinois River at the present town of Marseilles, about ten miles (four leagues) east of Twin Bluffs (the eastern extremity of the Great Village). Subsequently, in December, 1680, when La Salle returned from Fort Frontenac to the Illinois country, he left at the ruins of the Great Village three men who took up their residence on an island in the river "between two rapids."²⁴ This statement corroborates the interpretation of the above, the eastern rapids being the *Grand Rapids* at Marseilles and the western being those at the base of Starved Rock which are the only other rapids in these parts.²⁵

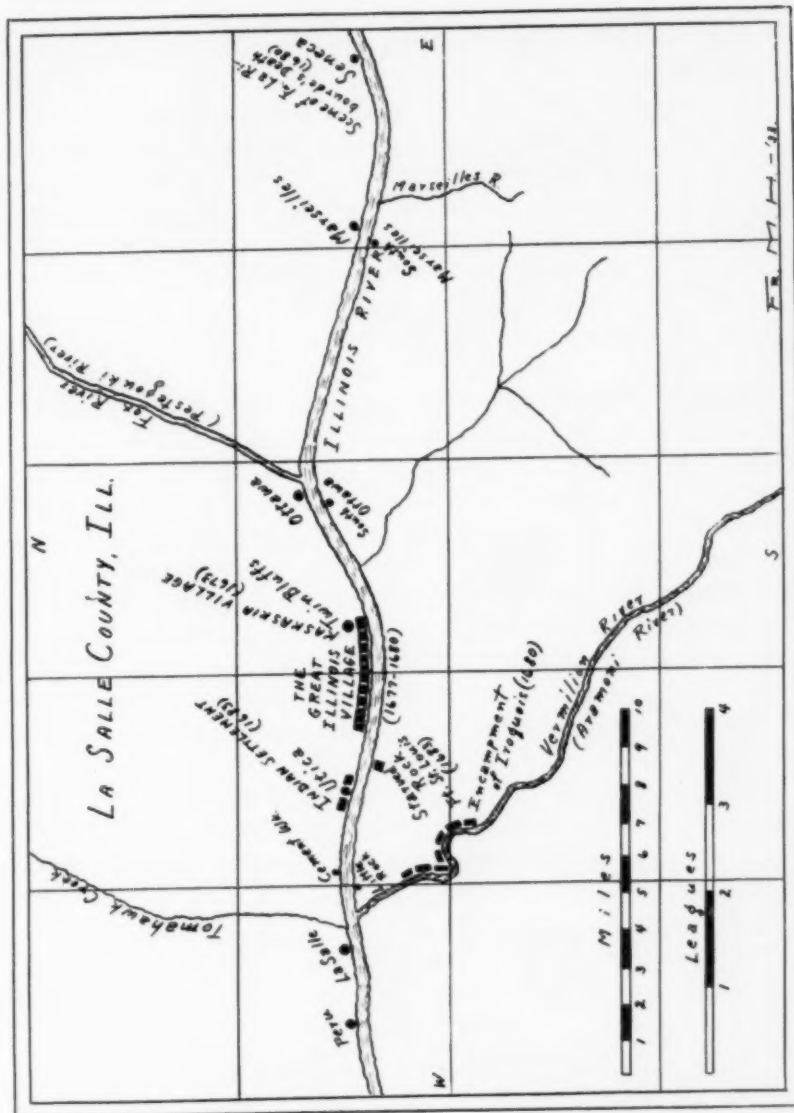
While passing through the Great Village in early March, 1680, "on the 13th the said Sieur [La Salle] met two of his men whom he had sent [from Fort Miami in early December 1679] to Missilimakinak to meet his vessel [the *Griffin*], but who had got no tidings of it. He sent them to the Sieur de

²² *Official Narrative*, Anderson's translation, 195.

²³ *Ibid.*, 155.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 229.

²⁵ Cf. Father Garraghan's article in *Mid-America*, October, 1931, 145.



SITE OF THE GREAT ILLINOIS VILLAGE



Tonti"²⁶ with instructions ordering the latter to examine Starved Rock with a view to building a fort on that natural fortress. "He [La Salle] sent me orders," writes Tonti, "to go back to the Illinois village and build a fort upon an eminence a half league [$1\frac{1}{4}$ miles] from there."²⁷

Soon after Tonti departed from Fort Crèvecoeur and went to Starved Rock, almost the entire garrison of Fort Crèvecoeur deserted; and during the next half year (March to September, 1680) Tonti and a few loyal Frenchmen dwelt among the Illinois Indians in their Great Village, awaiting La Salle's return, while Fathers La Ribourde and Membré devoted themselves to missionary work among these Indians and others of the vicinity. "The great Illinois village alone," writes Father Membré, "being composed of 7 or 8000 souls, Father Gabriel and I had a sufficient field for the exercise of our zeal, besides the few French who soon after came there."²⁸

Early in September, 1680, however, came the Iroquois to wage war upon the Illinois of the Great Village. "The small (Iroquois) army," so we read in the *Official Narrative*, "was encamped to the south on the banks of the Aramoni (Vermillion) river, which joins the Illinois two leagues (five miles) below the village."²⁹

In a letter written in 1681 after the destruction of the Great Village by the Iroquois)³⁰ and incorporated into the *Official Narrative*,³¹ La Salle wrote: "The village of the Illinois was on the bank of the river on the north side. On the south side there is a very high cliff³² quite narrow and almost everywhere steep except for a place more than a league in length situated across from the village³³ where the land, quite covered over with fine oaks, extends by a gentle slope up to the river edge. Beyond this high land is a vast plain which extends very far

²⁶ Father Membré's Narrative in *LeClerc's Establishment of the Faith*, II, 131. Parkman, *op. cit.*, 178, says La Salle met these two Frenchmen on Lake Michigan; but we have every reason to believe that Father Membré's statement is correct.

²⁷ Tonti's Relation of 1684, Anderson's translation, 33.

²⁸ Father Membré's Narrative in *LeClerc's Establishment*, II, 132-133.

²⁹ *Official Narrative*, Anderson's translation, 197.

³⁰ Margry, *op. cit.*, II, 122.

³¹ *Official Narrative*, Anderson's translation, 203.

³² Anderson's translation, *ibid.*, reads: "The left or south bank of the river is formed by a long cliff etc."

³³ The cliff, therefore, was not directly across from the village; instead, there was a sloping bank with a woods.

to the south and which is traversed by the river Aramoni (Big Vermilion), the banks of which are covered with a narrow fringe of wood."³⁴

The brave efforts of Tonti and Father Membré to establish peace between the invading Iroquois and the panic-stricken Illinois proved fruitless; and the invaders finally forced the few Frenchmen and the two missionaries to depart from the Great Village, whereupon the Iroquois wrought havoc in the home of the Illinois and perpetrated their usual barbarities. Those of the Illinois who were not massacred, escaped, some to the Mississippi, others to the neighborhood of Fort Miami (St. Joseph, Mich.). Tonti and his companions had set out in a canoe for Green Bay; and having traveled eight leagues (twenty miles) from the western part of the Great Village (where the invading Iroquois, coming from the Vermilion, had made their appearance), they were forced to land and repair their canoe. Here, at the place where Seneca is now situated, on September 19, 1680, Father La Ribourde was murdered by a band of roving Kickapoo Indians.³⁵

³⁴ This translation is by Father Garraghan, *Mid-America*, October, 1931, 146. The French text, as in the *Official Narrative*, is given by Parkman, *op. cit.*, 206, note 1.

³⁵ The distance from the place which was once the western end of the Great Village to Seneca is twenty miles (perhaps a little more or less) by way of the river; and there is every reason for believing that Tonti and his companions began their forced retreat from the western end of the Great Village. The Iroquois came from the Aramoni (Vermilion) lying to the southwest and the first part of the Great Village they naturally entered was the western; and very probably they built their rude fort at the same place. Meanwhile the greater part of the Illinois with their women and children were moving westward toward the Mississippi; and subsequently the Iroquois pursued them, going in the same direction. In any case, Seneca is the town nearest to the spot where Father La Ribourde met his death; and, in as far as it is possible to designate that spot with exactness, Seneca may rightly be pointed out as the site of the missionary's martyrdom. Thus the present investigation confirms the writer's previous conclusions anent the site of Father La Ribourde's death. Cf. "Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, O. F. M., the First Martyr in Illinois," *Mid-America*, October, 1930, and January, 1931.

It affords the writer not a little pleasure to record the fact that a memorial to Father La Ribourde has since been erected at Seneca, Illinois. It was solemnly dedicated on July 4, 1932, in the presence of about 40 priests and some 3,000 people. His Excellency, the Most Rev. Joseph H. Schlarman, D. D., Bishop of Peoria, delivered the dedicatory address and sketched the life and labors of the zealous missionary who was the first to give his life in God's service on Illinois soil.

The memorial is a granite tablet, about two and one-half feet in width and three feet in height, mounted on a pedestal of small artistic boulders. It is located in the northwest corner of the church grounds. The inscription on the tablet reads as follows:

During the winter of 1682-1683, after La Salle had returned from the mouth of the Mississippi, his men built Fort St. Louis on top of Starved Rock "known to the French as *Le Rocher* or the Rock of St. Louis";³⁶ and the Illinois, with Indians of other tribes, once more returned to the neighborhood of the Great Village, this time somewhat farther west, near the new French fort, that is, on the site of present Utica. "During the winter," writes Tonti, "I gave all the nations notice of what we had done to defend them from the Iroquois, at whose hands they had lost 700 people in the preceding years. They approved of our good intentions, and established themselves, to the number of 300 lodges, at the Fort—Islinois and Miamis and Chaouanons."³⁷

In a letter written after the construction of Fort St. Louis (completed in March, 1683), La Salle wrote: "Two leagues lower down (from the Pestegouki or Fox River) is the old village of the Kaskaskia Illinois,³⁸ who abandoned it after the defeat inflicted three years ago by the Iroquois. The news of the Fort which I caused to be built there has recalled them

*
ON OR NEAR THIS SPOT
SEPTEMBER 19, 1680
FATHER GABRIEL DE LA RIBOURDE, O. F. M.
PIONEER FRENCH MISSIONARY
AND MEMBER OF
TONTI'S EXPLORING EXPEDITION
WAS KILLED BY
A BAND OF KICKAPOO INDIANS

For the above information the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Father C. J. Higgins, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Seneca, Illinois.

³⁶ Parkman, *op. cit.*, 223.

³⁷ Tonti's Memoir in Kellogg, *op. cit.*, 305. The Indian relics found on Mr. Clark's farm at Utica were remains of this Indian settlement, established in 1683, not of the Great Illinois Village of 1677-1680. Parkman erroneously—according to the present study—considered them relics of the "Great Illinois Town" which he placed "below *Le Rocher*" instead of above or east of *Le Rocher* or Starved Rock. Cf. *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 223. The maps prepared after 1683, like Franquelin's "Map of Louisiana" of 1684, naturally indicate the Indian villages clustered around Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock and not the Great Village which was destroyed by the Iroquois in 1680.

³⁸ This statement, which we have adduced earlier in this paper, agrees with the other statements and measurements in the contemporary accounts and is no doubt correct; but it does not require an interpretation which distinguishes the Kaskaskia village from the Great Village and places it apart from the latter, as Shea seemed to think. Cf. Shea's note in *LeClerc's Establishment of the Faith*, II, 117. The same must be said of another statement averring that the Kaskaskia village lay "fifteen leagues [37½ miles] below the confluence of the Checagou [Des Plaines] and Teakiki [Kankakee]," which Shea mentions, *ibid.*, taking it from Margry, *op. cit.*, II, 128 and 175.

with other nations. It [the fort] is situated six leagues below the aforesaid village on the left bank as you ascend the river, on top of a rock perpendicular on almost every side, the foot of which is washed [by the river] in such a manner that water can be drawn up to the top of the rock, which is about six hundred feet in circumference."³⁹ The assertion in the latter part of this extract that Fort St. Louis was "six leagues below the aforesaid village" (Kaskaskia village) is the only one in the contemporary documents which does not harmonize with our conclusions. But it is evidently a mistake, as it disagrees no less with the earlier and correct statement in the same quotation, namely that "the old village of the Kaskaskia Illinois" was two leagues (five miles) below the Fox River; it implies that the distance from the Fox River to Starved Rock is eight leagues (twenty miles), whereas it is only about $3\frac{3}{4}$ leagues (about 8 miles). For "six leagues" in the statement in question, one must substitute by inference from its own calculations " $1\frac{3}{4}$ leagues (about 4 miles)."

Briefly, then, the results of the present study may be summarized as follows. One must distinguish carefully between the Great Illinois Village and the Indian settlement of 1683 near Fort St. Louis. The latter was located "below *Le Rocher*," just west of Starved Rock, on the site of present Utica.⁴⁰ The former lay between Utica and Starved Rock on one hand and Ottawa on the other. The "old Kaskaskia village" was situated at Twin Bluffs but formed a part (the eastern part) of the Great Village, 1677 to 1680. During the greater part of that period, particularly in 1680 before its destruction by the Iroquois, the Great Illinois Village stood on the northern bank of the Illinois River, extending along the river for a distance of $1\frac{1}{4}$ leagues ($3\frac{1}{8}$ miles), the eastern extremity being 2 leagues (5 miles) west of the mouth of the Fox River, and the western extremity being 2 leagues (5 miles) east of the mouth of the Vermilion River as well as $\frac{1}{2}$ league ($1\frac{1}{4}$ miles) east of Starved

³⁹ *Feuilles detachées d'un lettre de De Salle, Margry, op. cit.*, II, 175. The translation is that given by Father Garraghan, *Mid-America*, October, 1931, 147. An English translation of the entire fragmentary letter appeared in the *Magazine of American History*, II, 552-561.

⁴⁰ This was the settlement of the Illinois Indians. As indicated on Franquelin's map of 1684, there were also villages of other Indians around Fort St. Louis on both sides of the river. Thus the Chaouenon (Shawanoe) village was on the south side of Starved Rock. Cf. Parkman, *La Salle etc.*, 12th edn., map facing p. 295.

Rock. All these measurements are taken from the contemporary French accounts; and though intended no doubt to serve merely as approximate figures, they are remarkably harmonious and accurate.

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KASKASKIA, INDIAN MISSION VILLAGE, 1703-1718

I

Kaskaskia, the Indian Mission village, was not at first situated upon Kaskaskia River in Randolph County, Illinois. Father James Marquette, who inaugurated the Mission in 1675, found the Kaskaskia in their village on the Illinois River near the modern Utica or it may be upon a site farther north near Ottawa. It was there that the missionary Allouez visited them, that the fierce Iroquois attacked them, and thither La Salle recalled them after he had fortified Starved Rock, the huge cliff opposite their old village. Fort St. Louis, as the fortification was called, was somewhat hard to defend. When Henri de Tonti succeeded La Salle in possession of the Fort he instructed his lieutenant, the Sieur de Liette, to confer with the Kaskaskia who had previously expressed their wish to move. The latter chose the end of Lake Peoria for their new village. De Liette followed promptly (in 1691) by erecting the new fort St. Louis, commonly called Fort Pimitoui, on the northwest shore of Lake Peoria about a mile and a half above the outlet of the lake. The fort became the center of a thriving fur trade and the Indian village the center of the arduous missionary activity of Fathers Rale, Gravier and Bineteau. The founding of Louisiana in 1699 by Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville and the establishment of Fort Biloxi, 1700, appealed to the Kaskaskia, who thought it desirable to move to the vicinity of the new fort so that they might enjoy the protection of the French. They set out in 1700 but halted opposite Cahokia at the mouth of the River Des Peres in what is now St. Louis. They remained here for about two and a half years and then left again for their more enduring settlement upon the Kaskaskia River in Randolph County, Illinois, where they arrived on April 13, 1703.

The settlement on the Des Peres River, thus transferred to a site on the Kaskaskia River, became "the village of the Fathers." As late as 1718 a memoir referred to the "village of Roinsac, called Cascachias, where the Fathers reside."¹ The history of Roensa's village is obscure at first. What attention was paid to the Illinois by Canada was paid chiefly to the Peoria, who had become hostile to the French and their allies. The southern province, Louisiana, although its establishment

¹ *New York Colonial Documents*, 9: 891, 886.

had occasioned the migration of the Kaskaskia, exercised little influence upon them during this period. When in 1713 Louisiana was granted to a wealthy merchant, M. Antoine Crozat, and M. de Lamothe Cadillac became its first civil governor, Illinois was not included in the province. What civil government there was at Kaskaskia was exercised by the missionaries and only when disorders became too great, did they call upon the military help of the southern province. The village of Kaskaskia was in truth primarily a mission settlement and only secondarily a French settlement in the first decade and a half of its existence.

Apart from the Bergier correspondence, the earliest reference to the location of the new village as well as to the river being named Kaskaskia, occurs in the narrative of Pénicaut who had spent four months there in 1711. Commenting upon the Illinois Kaskaskia, Pénicaut remarks that they had settled "upon a little river which bears their name today, two leagues from the bank of the Mississippi to the right in ascending, forty-three leagues on this side of the Illinois river."² Father Gabriel Marest in a detailed account of the mission to Father Germon in 1712 refers in a general way to this site when he mentions that his village is situated between the Ouabache and the Pekitanoui on one of the many small streams that water the country.³ The establishment of this little settlement together with that of Cahokia transferred the center of French life from the valley of the Illinois River to the American bottom. In more ways than one Kaskaskia the ancient was to be the metropolis of the Illinois Country.

From the beginning of the mission a French population was present. Throughout these years, however, it seems to have been floating in character. Fragmentary references to it convey the idea of an inchoate French settlement. Within three months of the moving of the Kaskaskia to their new home, M. Bergier wrote: "All the French who were here, fearing also to be killed or plundered are abandoning the village and are going, some to Father Marez's Mission, some twenty-five leagues below on the river of the Metchigamias, others to the

² Pénicaut's Relation in Margry, 5: 472.

³ Marest to Germon, November 9, 1712, Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66: 227.

Oubache [Ohio] to be in security."⁴ Father Mermet also refers to the French population when in 1706 writing about Father Gravier's arrival in Kaskaskia after his misadventure among the Peoria, he mentions that Jacques and all the French with him were of the opinion that Father Gravier should go to Mobile to have his wound dressed since there were competent surgeons there.⁵

The presence of the French living in the mission occasioned some dispute between the Jesuits and the priests of the Foreign Missions. Monsieur Bergier claimed that the Jesuits had power of vicar-general only over the Indians of the missions, and not over the French who were living among them.⁶ The French caused so much disorder by exciting the Indian nations to war upon each other and thus to secure slaves to sell to the English, that MM. Dartaguiette and Bienville in 1708 sent M. d'Eraque with six men to the Kaskaskia, the Cahokia, and the nations upon the banks of the Missouri to restore peace. These officers begged the missionaries to inform the authorities at Mobile should the Canadians again excite warfare among the Indians.⁷ Three years later (1711), Father Marest felt the necessity of doing so. He asked for an officer and some soldiers to check the irregularities of several Canadian merchants who under the pretext of commerce there, openly committed several scandalous crimes, debauching the girls and women of the Illinois and preventing them from being converted. This time MM. Bienville and Dartaguiette sent a sergeant with twelve soldiers. Although the Canadians left in time to escape punishment, the little troop stayed four months at Kaskaskia. Thanks to this sojourn we have from the pen of one of the soldiers, M. Pénicaut, a delightfully sympathetic account of life at the little village.⁸

Not all the influence of the French among the Kaskaskia, however, was exerted to the detriment of the latter. Father Marest in 1712, speaks in commendation of the influence of the French upon his Indian flock observing that Christianity and intercourse with the French had civilized the Indians. Frenchmen were attracted to the Christian Indian village and some of

⁴ Bergier à M. Tremblay, July 3, 1703, cited by G. J. Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 11: 132.

⁵ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66: 63.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁷ Margry, 5: 476-477.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 5: 488-489.

the French married the Illinois women.⁹ The last statement is confirmed by the baptismal register of Kaskaskia. Of the twenty-one baptisms recorded between 1701 and 1713, in eighteen cases the mothers are Indian, and the fathers with one exception, French. Apparently the French alluded to several times in Marest's letter were considered one with the Kaskaskia among whom they lived. It must have been a different type of settler that caused Father Marest when speaking of the advantages of the country to betray apprehension lest the success of the Mission be jeopardized by the libertinage and perhaps open irreligion of the French.¹⁰ All these references indicate primarily an Indian mission village in which there were living at least some Frenchmen. The memoir of 1718 referring "to the village of Rouinsac where the Fathers are settled" continues "and where some Frenchmen live."¹¹

II

The period of the inchoate French settlement was the heyday of the mission. After the choice of the place for their village, the Kaskaskia must have set to work building their own little cabins and very soon, too, they must have built the church that they were to attend three times daily. Pénicaut describes a few details of this house of worship: "They have in their village a very large church, in which there is a baptismal font. This church is very neat within; there are three chapels, one in the middle and two on the sides. They have a belfry with a bell in it."¹²

From the accounts that remain it is easy to reconstruct life at the mission.¹³ In the early morning the catechumens were the first who assembled in church for prayers, instructions and the singing of hymns. Mass and instructions followed for the Christians. A very interesting service it must have been and a very picturesque congregation. Erstwhile warriors on one side and dusky squaws on the other, both modestly clad in

⁹ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66: 231, 241.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 66: 293.

¹¹ *New York Colonial Documents*, 9: 886.

¹² Margry, 5: 491.

¹³ More or less detailed accounts are to be found in Pénicaut's Relation, Margry, 5: 375-586; in Father Gabriel Marest's letter to Father Germon, 1712, Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66: 218-295; and in Father Watrin's summary of the achievements of the missionaries among the Kaskaskia, *Jesuit Relations*, 70: 212-301. Numerous casual references in contemporary documents confirm these accounts.

deerskin, their costume for church, prayed and sang Christian prayers and hymns in their own Illinois tongue. Thereafter the missionary made his rounds visiting the sick and consoling the sorrowing, while the Indians themselves doffed their churchly deerskin and went to their daily tasks—or leisure. In the afternoons there was Catechism class for all and in the evening instructions, prayers and hymns. The sacraments were received every fortnight, and Saturdays and Sundays were set aside for confessions.

Singing must have been attractive to the Illinois for returning to their own cabins at night they often sang late in the night. Before the establishment of the Parish of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia the French attended service on Sundays with the Indians. It was then, both at Mass and Vespers, that the French chanted in Latin and the Kaskaskia responded in Illinois. Not only the Kaskaskia children, but captive children, too, were carefully instructed by the missionaries. Marriages were solemnized in the Christian way, the banns being published in High Mass on three consecutive Sundays or feast days, and the marriage itself taking place after Mass as in France.

Descriptions of the industrial life of the Kaskaskia during this period are charming pictures of simple industrious Indians in marked contrast with later characterizations of the tribe as a lazy, debauched nation. Hunting, war and painting of their bodies remained, of course, the chief occupations of the Indian braves. Pénicaut in 1711 found them diligent and skillful in cultivating the earth and using a plow which their missionaries had taught them to employ. "They have, near their village, three mills to grind their grain; a wind mill belonging to the Jesuits, which is much used by the habitants, and two other mills [horse] that the Illinois themselves own."¹⁴

A memoir of 1718 details the agricultural pursuits at Kaskaskia. "This nation is very numerous and all have the same manners; very industrious and hard working. They raise, in these parts, a quantity of French melons, the pulp of which, inside, is green and of a most excellent quality. The climate there is very fine. In addition to raising a large supply of Maize, the Indians thereabout produce also considerable Wheat. There are 3 grist-mills; one of these is a wind, another a horse

¹⁴ Margry, 5: 490.

mill; the third a quern. They have oxen, cows, hogs, horses, fowls; in fine, everything suitable for life. The wheat comes up very fine there; it is sown in the Autumn, and the climate is milder than in France."¹⁵

Neither Pénicaut, the soldier, nor Charlevoix, a visiting priest, disdained to watch the Kaskaskia squaws spinning buffalo wool. Charlevoix thought it worth writing about. "Their wives are sufficiently dexterous. They spin the Buffalo's Wool, and make it as fine as that of the English sheep. Sometimes one would even take it for silk. They made stuffs of it, which they dye black, yellow, and a dark red. They make gowns of it which they sew with the thread made of the sinews of roebucks. Their method of making this thread is very easy. When the sinew is well cleaned from the flesh, they expose it in the sun two days; when it is dry, they beat it, and get out of it without any trouble, a thread as white and as fine as that of Malines, and much stronger."¹⁶

What the life of the missionary at Kaskaskia was can be inferred from the accounts of the industrial and religious life of the Indians. Instructions were frequent, no easy task with the Indian mind. The language was difficult. The translation of High Mass and Vespers into the Illinois tongue was surely a signal achievement. Equally so must have been the choir practice, the more so as the Vespers were chanted in alternate Latin and Illinois verses. But if life at the mission was hard enough, it must have been far harder when the Indians went hunting and that according to Dartaguiette was seven months of the year.¹⁷

III

The summer of 1714 was a tragic one for Kaskaskia. The ravages of an epidemic carried away two to three hundred persons, four or five dying daily. Among the victims was the most prominent of the missionaries at ancient Kaskaskia, Father Gabriel Marest.¹⁸ A native of Laval, France, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at nineteen years of age, and came to Canada in 1694. Almost immediately he was appointed to the chap-

¹⁵ *New York Colonial Documents*, 9: 891.

¹⁶ Charlevoix, *A Voyage to North America*, 2: 166.

¹⁷ Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, p. 72.

¹⁸ Mermet to Germain, February 25, 1715, Archives de l'École de Ste. Genevieve, Paris. Photostat copy, Wisconsin Historical Society.

laincy of an expedition to Hudson Bay. Captured by the English and taken to England, he was allowed to return to France from which he again set sail for America.¹⁹ He was then appointed for the Illinois Missions, 1698, where he lived and died, accompanying them in their migration from Peoria to the Des Peres and from the latter place to the Kaskaskia River.

Marest's colleagues were unanimous in their praise of his untiring zeal. Father Bineteau calls his talent for the missions the finest in the world, and singles out for praise his facility in learning the Indian tongue, his zeal and endurance of fatigue.²⁰ Father Gravier spoke of him in the same tenor²¹ and Father Mermet, who wrote the obituary notice eulogizes his incomparable zeal and untiring charity. When the epidemic broke out he was at the beck and call of the sick till, succumbing to fatigue and disease, death claimed him after less than eight days' illness, September 15, 1714. Mourned alike by the French and the Indian, the former sang his requiem; the latter "covered the body," that is, expressed their sympathy in Indian fashion through symbolic gifts of furs.²² Thirteen years afterwards, Father Le Boullenger had Marest's remains together with those of Father Mermet transferred to the new Kaskaskia Church.²³

Shortly after Father Marest's death, on November 4, occurred the death of another Jesuit, Jacques l'Argilier, *dit* le Castor. He deserves more than a passing notice for his life links the Kaskaskia of Marquette with the Kaskaskia of Gravier and Marest. He was born in France about 1634, arrived in Canada before 1664 and became a *donné* of the Jesuits in that year.²⁴ He is the Jacques who during Marquette's wintering at Chicago was his intermediary with the Kaskaskia. In 1690 he entered the Society taking the vows of a temporal coadjutor with permission to live while one of its members in the secular garb for greater service to the missions.²⁵ In 1708 Father Gravier wrote that "poor Jacques" had received the viaticum

¹⁹ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 65: 264, n. 12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 65: 69.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 66: 25, 123.

²² Mermet to Germain, *op. cit.*

²³ Kaskaskia Church Register for date indicated. Original register in St. Louis University Archives.

²⁴ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 71: 149. A *donné* was a layman who gave his life to the service of the missionaries.

²⁵ Mermet to Germain, *op. cit.*

and extreme unction.²⁶ He lingered on, however, an object of care to the grateful priests of the Society, whom he had faithfully served for half a century.

Intimately associated with Father Marest at Kaskaskia was Father Jean Mermet. He had come to Canada in 1698 as a young Jesuit thirty-four years old. He had succeeded Pinet at Chicago, assisted Aveneau at the Miami Mission on the St. Joseph River and been chaplain for the Juchereau workmen at the mouth of the Ohio. It is not clear whether upon the disruption of the settlement, he repaired immediately to Kaskaskia or first spent some time with the Ouiatenons or Wea.²⁷ Of a delicate constitution, he seemed unable to do all the travelling that Father Marest did and yet the latter regarded him as the soul of the mission and attributed its success to him.²⁸ Undoubtedly it was his gentle charity that won the Indians' friendship.

Very timely was the arrival of Father Jean Marie de Ville at Kaskaskia in the August of 1714. Upon his coming to Canada in 1706 he spent a short time at an Abenaki village till his appointment to the Illinois Mission in 1707. The road to the Illinois was then closed, however, and it must have been considerably later that he reached the Illinois. In 1711 Father Germain mentions de Ville's being at the Illinois Mission.²⁹ In 1712 he was sent to Peoria instead of Father Marest, having apparently been but a short time at Kaskaskia.³⁰ In August, 1714, he came down to Kaskaskia from Peoria with M. Du Tisne and after Marest's death was retained for the Kaskaskia, among whom there were more Christian Indians than in Peoria.³¹

At Kaskaskia de Ville's greatest trial was the scandalous conduct of some Frenchmen. Although he succeeded in making himself feared and respect by them, he found it advisable as Superior of the Missions to journey to Mobile in 1719 to make some arrangements for the mission and to obtain from Governor Bienville restrictions upon the lawlessness of the French traders. Pressed by Bienville, he acted as chaplain to the army during the siege of Pensacola. Becoming seriously ill he was

²⁶ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66: 125.

²⁷ Paré, "The St. Joseph Mission," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 17: 34, n. 30.

²⁸ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66: 255.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 66: 209.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 66: 291.

³¹ Mermet to Germain, February 25, 1715.

compelled to stay at Natchez, where he died June 15, 1720, in the forty-eighth year of his age.³²

IV

Although the village of the Kaskaskia was the chief seat of the Illinois Mission, the Peoria, who had remained in their home on Lake Peoria after the departure of the Kaskaskia, were not neglected, though missionary work among them was irregular and unsuccessful. The Peoria were never so docile as their kinsmen, the Kaskaskia. Father Marest was able to visit them some time in 1701 when Father Jean Boré came over to the Des Peres River village from Cahokia.³³ Toward the end of 1706 Father Gravier returned to them. They were not at all well-disposed and two attempts were made upon the missionary's life. Father Mermet narrates at length the circumstances of the attacks. The Peoria chiefs had selected one of the most notable of their number to go to Montreal to account to the Governor for the killing of a French soldier by an Illinois. At Mackinac the Peoria legate, persuaded that the French feared the Indians, changed his mind and returning to Peoria roused the whole village to sedition against the blackgown and the other French. One of the Peoria, who imagined that he had been slighted by Father Gravier, attacked the latter as he was passing through the village. Four arrows hardly touched him, but a fifth lodged in his arm, inflicting a serious wound. Not a Peoria would stir to rescue the priest. A Fox Indian and some Christian women played the part of the good Samaritan and assisted him to his cabin in Peoria. He remained here for three months, suffering greatly, but finally escaped, as will presently be told, though not without again being placed in jeopardy of his life.

When M. Bergier heard of the attack, he sent a party of fourteen Indians to Peoria to rescue Gravier, but only one of them reached Peoria. Rouensa, chief of the Kaskaskia, gave Father Marest four men to get Father Gravier. Three of these reached the wounded priest and remained with him till they had conveyed him to Kaskaskia. To escape from the Peoria was no easy task. As he was ready to slip out of the village

³² Louis D'Avaugour, Lettre circulaire du P. Jean Marie de Ville. Photostat copy, Wisconsin Historical Society.

³³ Bergier à —, April 13, 1701, cited by Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 11: 120.

about midnight on a stormy night his attendant, the blacksmith St. Michel, discovered that the house was surrounded by the Illinois. St. Michel pushed through the crowd to inform a rather friendly chief of the turn of events. Upon the arrival of this chief, the band departed to wreak their vengeance upon St. Michel's dwelling. Some hours later Rouensa's men succeeded in conducting Father Gravier out of Peoria. At Kaskaskia all the French believed that he should go to Mobile to have his wound attended to by a capable physician. Accordingly, on November 6, in company with a kind Frenchman named Bouat, he descended to Mobile.³⁴

Gravier never recovered from the effects of his wound. To the end, April 23, 1708, he was solicitous for the mission which he had firmly organized. In March, 1707, he was writing from Paris to the General in Rome for more help on the missions and for a decision on some cases, especially upon the question of marriages between Christians and infidels. Two months before his death he was back in Louisiana writing a long letter about the affairs of the Louisiana mission.³⁵

The missionaries at Kaskaskia felt uneasy about the Peoria. Their distance from them did not permit of frequent visits and they knew only too well the fickleness of the savage. Unless the missionary lived with them to watch over their conduct they quickly relapsed into their former vices. The priests were considering means of re-establishing the mission when a welcome opportunity offered itself. Because of their treatment of the French, especially of their missionary, the Peoria had been deprived of the privilege of trading with the French. This policy of the Governors of Canada and Mobile seems to have been effective. Deprived of French powder, the Peoria were worsted in several encounters. They repented and asked for a missionary. In Easter week, 1711, Father Gabriel Marest was obliged to go to Mackinac to confer about the mission with his brother, who was then Superior of the missions. As Peoria lay on his journey, he had occasion to test the sincerity of their repentance.

After a very trying journey with only three companions, Father Marest arrived at Peoria where the reception given him more than consoled him for his trials on the way. The chiefs

³⁴ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 65: 51-65.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 66: 121, 125 ff.

came to him and begged him to return to them.³⁶ After spending two weeks at Peoria Father Marest continued his journey to Fort St. Joseph, the Potawatomi Mission, where he had the unexpected pleasure of meeting his brother, whom he had not seen for fifteen years. Together they travelled to Mackinac and, after a stay there of two months, Father Gabriel Marest set out for Kaskaskia. He halted at Peoria again, found the Indians still favorably disposed, said Mass in their village and promised to return.

On September 10, Father Marest was back at Kaskaskia. There both the French and the Indians strongly opposed his going to the Peoria and Father de Ville was sent in his stead.³⁷

Father de Ville, according to Rochemonteix, effected little among the Peoria, although he succeeded in forming a little group of Christians who remained firm.³⁸ The Fox War, begun in 1712, considerably affected the Illinois, their traditional enemies, and not improbably helped to thwart efforts to evangelize the Peoria. In 1714 Father de Ville came down to Kaskaskia with Du Tisé. Although Rochemonteix states that Father de Ville was not replaced at Peoria, there is evidence that Father de Kereben was there in 1718 and 1719. A document describing the missions in Louisiana from 1718 to 1725 records Father de Kereben as being at "Pimitevi" (i. e., Pimitoui) in 1718 and 1719 and as being recalled from there in 1720 for the Michigamea.³⁹ As the separation of the latter group from the Kaskaskia took place in 1719 or 1720, this appears to be correct.

The last religious service recorded for Peoria is that of a baptism performed by Father Charlevoix, who, passing through the village in October, 1721, conferred with the chief in the former lodging of the missionaries and administered baptism to the chief's dying daughter.⁴⁰

In 1718 the Foxes harassed the Illinois Country to such an extent that travel even from Kaskaskia to Cahokia was not safe. In 1722 they besieged the Peoria in their villages near Starved Rock and on Lake Peoria, and the latter, abandoning

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 66: 279.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 66: 291.

³⁸ Rochemonteix, *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIII^e Siecle*, p. 264.

³⁹ Archives Nationales, Colonies, D²D, 10: number 3.

⁴⁰ Charlevoix, *A Voyage to North America*, 2: 157, 160.

their Illinois river villages, moved to Cahokia where, instead of profiting by the zeal of the missionaries, they hindered their work among the other Indians.⁴¹ It was only in 1733, after the Foxes had been almost exterminated, that the Peoria returned to their old home on the lake of the same name, but neither missionary, soldier nor French settler accompanied them.⁴²

The Mission among the Michigamea, never very successful, was abandoned some time between 1736 and 1750 and the village itself was surprised and burned by the Foxes and their allies in 1752. With the separation of Indian from French Kaskaskia the most successful period of the mission came to an end. Obstacles to success steadily increased: the Fox Wars; wars with the Natchez, Chickasaw and Cherokee; steadily increasing friction with the French; and most of all the baneful influence of brandy drinking. The valiant Kaskaskia braves dwindled down to a handful, gentle and tractable when sober, but terrible when inebriate. The parish of the Immaculate Conception remained the center of French life and the stronghold of civilization in the mid-Mississippi country throughout the French regime.

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⁴¹ Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 161.

⁴² Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 59: 605. The Sieur de Boisbriant, commanding for the Company of the West in the Illinois country created three villages out of the original Kaskaskia. This was in 1719 or 1720, more probably in 1719. The French remained on the original site, thereafter called French Kaskaskia. The Indians were divided: the Kaskaskia moved a league and a half north of their old home forming the *village sauvage Kaskaskia*; the Michigamea, who had been living with the Kaskaskia, settled still farther north, a half league above Fort Chartres.

CENTENARY OF THE CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS OF CLINTON COUNTY, ILLINOIS

This year marks the centenary of the arrival and settlement of the first Catholics in Clinton County, Illinois. The contribution in the present issue of *MID-AMERICA*, "Notes on the First Settlements of Catholic Low Germans in Clinton County, Illinois," by Rev. Bartholomew Bartels, is offered in commemoration of the event. Prepared a half-century ago by the Father named, it remains to this day the most valuable document available to the historian for the religious and civil beginnings and development of that County, and merits accordingly grateful recognition for the service thereby rendered to the citizens of that County and to the memory of their colonizing fathers and mothers.

Rev. Bartholomew Bartels was born March 10, 1823, at Cleve on the Rhine and studied at Cleve, Cologne, Bonn and Muenster, Germany; was ordained by Bishop Arnold Melchers at Muenster, Germany, May 29, 1847; arrived in the United States March 3, 1858, labored in the diocese of Alton, and after the partition of the diocese, in the severed part thereof, the diocese of Belleville, until his death May 4, 1894, at Bartelso as pastor there of St. Cecilia's parish. He lies at rest in the parish cemetery of Bartelso, the town named in honor of him. When the first bishop of the newly created diocese of Alton, Henry Damian Junker, consecrated April 26, 1857, set out to acquaint himself at once with the needs of his vast diocese, covering the entire southern half of the State of Illinois, the clamor of the early immigrants for priests received an answer from him at Germantown: "I am going to Europe to seek priests, and will return with one for you." Accompanied by Rev. August Brickwede of Mud Creek, now the village of St. Libory, St. Clair County, he toured Westphalia, pleading there for priests for his German immigrants. In response to this appeal he secured the experienced, zealous and exceptionally able Father Bartels, and several students of theology, among them the later first bishop of the Diocese of Belleville, John Janssen, and August Reineke, the founder and for fifty-three years highly successful pastor and builder of St. Dominic's parish of Breese. The present writer after forty years of priestly experience and contacts in the diocese of Belleville, is forced to the conclusion that Fathers Bartels and Reineke, neighbors in adjoining parishes only four

miles apart, were easily the most dynamic personalities in priestly devotion and achievement who spanned the chasm between the sturdy, trying pioneer days and the high level reached by the best established parishes of the present.

Father Bartels on arriving in the diocese was assigned to the pastorate of Teutopolis in the Spring of 1858. In the Autumn of that year he welcomed on their arrival in the diocese the first Franciscan Fathers, whom the Bishop had secured on his aforementioned European tour. Father Bartels always remained an intimate friend of these Fathers, and his retirement for six years to Quincy was an outcome of this close friendship. From the Autumn of 1858 until the assumption in 1865 of his sixteen-year pastorate of St. Boniface parish, Germantown, Ill., we note within the intervening period of seven years his frequent and rapid shifts to pastorates (a common occurrence in the pioneer days) in Quincy, St. Marie, Jasper County, Freeburg, Highland and Millstadt and the missions attached to these pastorates. After his stay at Quincy, he assumed pastoral charge in April, 1888, of the lately established parish of St. Cecilia in the town of Bartelso, and of the parishioners who were cut off from his one-time parish of Germantown.

Father Bartels's devotion to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the German immigrants and his keen estimate of the German press of the time, with its power for good or evil, threw him into the vanguard of the battle for a Catholic press. We find him on the Board of Directors of the German Literary Society of St. Louis, and also one of the foremost sponsors of the *Herold des Glaubens*, a Catholic weekly, and of *Die Amerika*, a Catholic daily, which also published a bi-weekly edition. Mr. Joseph Gummersbach, founder of the St. Louis branch of the publishing house of B. Herder of Freiburg and also a member of the Board of Directors of both papers, who died December 25, 1924, recalled to the writer of this sketch the serious financial outlook of *Die Amerika*, which was due greatly to the selfish mismanagement of those in charge of it at the time. Gummersbach, because of the recency of his arrival from Europe and his youth, mistrusted himself in dealing with the situation, and confided his findings to Father Bartels. "Very well," said the quiet but adamant Bartels, "I will assume the responsibility for the solution." He did so at a meeting of the Directors. The management was changed, the then noted convert

of recent date to the Church, Dr. Edward Preuss, being placed in the editorial chair, while Father Bartels threw his personal resources into the treasury. *Die Amerika* from then on forged its way to the position of one of the most influential and widely circulated German dailies in the United States.

Mr. Gummersbach said that the Board of Directors attached to Father Bartels the soubriquet, *Gottes Segen vom Lande*, "God's benediction from the country." This German daily survived the late World War by several years, and had a glorious history of power and beneficence for the Catholic immigrants and the Church from 1872 on. Dr. Arthur Preuss succeeded his distinguished father as editor of *Die Amerika*. After his resignation, occasioned by his many other literary occupations, he was again succeeded by the present distinguished head of the Central Bureau, Mr. Frederick Kenkel, K. S. G., K. H. S.

An article on Clinton County by Henry Gramann, published in *Die Amerika* of St. Louis May 1 and 8, 1906, seems to be based principally on the "Notes" of Rev. B. Bartels, but contains some additional valuable data. Henry Gramann was born of pioneer parents of that County May 15, 1857. He attended Quincy College and the Teachers College of St. Francis, Wisconsin; taught school at Highland, Ill., seven years, and then at Aviston, Ill., until shortly before his death February 2, 1930, at Aviston.

A German manuscript of one hundred and forty-seven folio pages by Rev. Frederic Lohmann, pastor of Aviston from March, 1876, until his death February 13, 1917, is the most authoritative source document extant on the later history of the Church in that County. It also contains valuable data on the Father's previous affiliations with many parishes and missions in the diocese of Alton, now Springfield.

Apart from the three source-documents mentioned the only other noteworthy contribution to the Catholic history of Clinton County is the ninety-nine page souvenir of the celebration of the triple golden jubilee of Rev. August Reineke as priest and as pastor, and of the parish of St. Dominic, Breese, Illinois, entitled *Andenken an das Dreifache Goldene Jubiläum der St. Dominicus Gemeinde, 1858-1908*, Amerika Press, St. Louis, Mo. It was published anonymously.

Complete files of *Die Amerika* and of *Der Herold des Glaubens* are in the possession of the Central Bureau of the Central

Verein, St. Louis, Mo. The value of these files cannot easily be overestimated. Many contributions of the character of the "Notes" of Rev. B. Bartels on early Catholic settlements and parishes, competently written by the pioneer founders of these settlements and parishes, appeared in the issues of these two widely circulating dailies and weeklies. In 1931 the present writer approached Mr. Frederick P. Kenkel, K. S. G., K. H. S., chief of the Central Bureau, with a suggestion for the raising of a fund whereby a competent indexer of the contents of these two sets of files could be put to work on this extremely valuable source material for the ecclesiastical and civil history of the Middle West.

Clinton County, with its exceptional record of having been settled almost completely by Catholics and with its development through a century of rural life and strong parochial organization, lacks to this day a history of the Catholic Church in that County. This is all the more regrettable since the parish histories of that County appeared too late to secure entry into the St. John's Orphan Edition of the *History of the Parishes of the Diocese of Belleville*, edited by the present writer and published by Joseph N. Buechler, Belleville, Illinois, 1919.

It is a hope to be cherished that the pastors and laity of Clinton County organize a really dynamic historical association to do justice to their Catholic ancestors, to themselves and to posterity by bringing about in this centennial year the preparation and eventual publication of such a history of their County. The garnering of all the source documents relating to the history of the Diocese of Belleville, and the publication of this fundamental source-material present another task, delay of which will involve far greater research labors and even irreparable losses. Historically the Diocese of Belleville presents many dark areas, either partly or totally unexplored, which forbid to this day the preparation of a critical general history of the diocese. All contributions to the history of the Diocese of Belleville, from the day of Father Bartels to this day, are the precious gifts of individual interest in a sacred cause, and of the initiative and research of the writers thereof. Thanks to their labors a more intelligent estimate and appreciation of our material and spiritual possession of this day is possible.

FREDERICK BEUCKMAN

Belleville, Ill.

THE MARQUETTE CABIN AT THE CENTURY OF PROGRESS FAIR

Visitors to the Chicago Century of Progress Fair are being attracted in numbers to a little structure of logs which stands immediately south of the Lincoln buildings at Twenty-sixth Street and the lake. It was erected by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, publisher of *MID-AMERICA*, as a replica in symbol of the cabin in which Father Marquette lived for several months on the site of Chicago. The cabin bears this inscription: "More than Two Hundred and Fifty Years ago during the Winter of 1674-1675 Father Jacques Marquette of the Society of Jesus lived in a cabin such as this on the banks of the south branch of the Chicago river where Damen Avenue now meets it. Father Marquette and his companions, Pierre Porteret and Jacques Largilier were the first white residents of Chicago. Erected by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society."

As Father Marquette's historical relation to Chicago is not always clearly understood, it may be well to set the matter down briefly in definite statements.

1. As a member of the Joliet exploring party of 1673, Marquette was one of the discoverers of the Chicago Portage, the physical factor mainly responsible for the existence of Chicago.

2. As a member of the same party, he was one of the first group of white men known to have passed through the Chicago River, as the marker on the Michigan Avenue Link Bridge commemorates. Other white men may have preceded them in the locality; but when they came or who they were is not of record.

3. Marquette on his return to the Chicago River, December 4, 1674, occupied for a week a cabin built for him at its mouth, a spot now to be identified approximately with the intersection of Michigan Avenue and Randolph Street. This is the first known human habitation on the site of Chicago, the missionary with his two companions being the first known residents thereon.

4. During the period, December 12, 1674-March 30, 1675, Marquette was in camp on a spot "two leagues" up the river from its mouth. Here he occupied a second cabin, the one reproduced on the Fair Grounds. A curious misreading of some words in the missionary's Journal has given rise to the impression that this cabin was already standing when Marquette arrived, it being the property, as alleged, of a trader in the region, Pierre Moreau. The words in question and their context afford no reasonable

ground for any such interpretation. The cabin here referred to was not Marquette's but Moreau's, which was located some forty-five miles away.

5. Marquette's activities on the site of Chicago belong to a period when the locality was a French possession. The first recorded resident thereon under the American flag was the Catholic mulatto, Jean Baptiste Point de Saible. He is rightly accounted the first permanent settler of modern Chicago.

How Marquette spent a hundred and eight days in his second winter camp on the site of Chicago, he has told us himself in a Journal written on the spot. This remarkable narrative is the earliest extant piece of writing produced in the locality which is now Chicago. It is still preserved, a precious possession of St. Mary's College, Montreal. It was a hard winter that Marquette passed in the little cabin which his men put up for him in the wilderness, and yet as he wrote bravely in his Journal "he passed it pleasantly." On December 15 he said Mass, at which his men assisted, the first religious service of record in the history of Chicago. To his cabin came occasional visitors, friendly Indians with food, and a French doctor who was living with the natives some forty-five miles away.

Marquette had brought along with him tobacco and other articles with which to win the good will of the Indians or barter for the necessities of life. A quantity of tobacco was traded for "three fine robes of ox skin." These, says Marquette, "were very useful to us during the winter." On one occasion he gave his Indian visitors a number of presents—a hatchet, two knives, three clasp knives, glass beads and two double mirrors. The provisions secured by his men or brought in by the Indians or sent him by French traders living among the Indians included corn, blueberries, pumpkins and buffalo tongue. One thing Marquette absolutely refused the Indians who pressed him for it. He would give them no gun powder, for, as he wrote, "we sought to restore peace everywhere and we did not wish them to begin war with the Miami." Such are some of the glimpses we get of Chicago life as it was experienced by the first resident here two hundred and fifty-eight years ago. A writer on early Chicago history has put the matter pointedly: "If plain living and high thinking be the ideal life, no locality ever launched its recorded career more auspiciously than did Chicago in the winter of 1674-1675."

Nowhere is the memory of Father Marquette more alive today than in Chicago. By ordinance of the City Council, December 4, the day on which he beached his canoe at the river mouth, is celebrated annually as "Marquette Day." Very recently his memory has been once more evoked and in striking fashion. This was on the occasion of the formal opening with elaborate ceremony of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterway, an accomplishment which realizes Louis Jolliet's dream of two hundred and sixty years ago. The most significant feature of the celebration was the arrival during the dedication ceremonies of two heavily laden Mississippi River barges, the first to make the long haul from New Orleans to Chicago. A pageant depicting the first arrival in Chicago waters of the French explorers Jolliet, Marquette, LaSalle and Tonti, was staged on the deck of the U. S. training ship, *Wilmette*, where the other ceremonies of the occasion also took place. The pageant concluded impressively with the appearance of Marquette praying with outstretched hands for the Almighty's blessing on a sore pressed and chastened people. Secretary of War Dern, Speaker of the House Rainey, Mayor Kelly and G. W. Rossetter, President of the Chicago Association of Commerce, paid tribute in their addresses to the name of Father Marquette.

The Marquette cabin will attract an increasing number of visitors as the great spectacle of the Century of Progress Exposition continues on its way. Its interior shows furnishings and objects suggestive of Father Marquette's historic sojourn in Chicago as he pictured it himself in his Journal.



MARQUETTE CABIN

Erected by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society at
 A Century of Progress, Chicago, 1933



CATHOLIC BEGINNINGS IN CHICAGO*

The story of Catholic beginnings in Chicago finds a starting-point in the arrival of the first Catholic clergyman in the city or what was to become such. As it happened, the Catholic clergyman to whom this distinction belongs was one of a party who were the first white men known to have visited the site of the future metropolis. The clergyman was Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, and the party was the famous one headed by Louis Jolliet, which was then on its way back to Canada after its eventful exploration of the Mississippi from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas in the summer of 1673. The arrival of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition in the Chicago area is generally dated September of the same year, which is accordingly also the date of the first contact made by the Catholic Church with Chicago. Marquette returned to the Illinois region in the winter of 1674, having planned to open a mission among the Kaskaskia Indians on the Upper Illinois. He arrived with two voyageurs at the mouth of the Chicago River December 4, 1674, camped there for a week, and then, on December 12, moved up the river to a second camping place, where he remained until March 30 of the following year. Antiquarian research has located the site of his second camping place in Chicago on the north bank of the west branch of the south fork of the Chicago River, at a place where the new Damen Avenue bridge now spans the stream. Here the city of Chicago officially commemorates the memory of Marquette in a stone memorial of artistic design, which rises at the northern terminal of the bridge.

Facts of the first interest in the religious history of Chicago are connected with Marquette's winter-camp on the river-bank. Here, on or about December 13, he celebrated Mass, the first religious service in the history of the city. Here he dispensed the ministrations of his Church to the faithful voyageurs. Here he made, in the language of the Church, a spiritual retreat, a period of days devoted to pious interior recollection and prayer. Here, finally he made the last entries in his journal, a classic in the literature of early western travel and the first document known to have been penned within the limits of the future city. So it is that in the story of Chicago beginnings,

*A paper read at the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Chicago, April 13-16, 1933.

secular as well as religious, the name of Jacques Marquette is a conspicuous one. The city has given official expression to the fact. By ordinance of the City Council, December 4, anniversary date of the missionary's arrival at the river's mouth in 1674, is celebrated annually as Marquette Day.

The second Catholic clergyman to identify himself with Chicago was Father Claude Allouez, also a Jesuit. In actual missionary achievement he outdistanced even his illustrious predecessor in the Illinois region, who died prematurely at thirty-eight. Allouez had twelve years of strenuous labor among the western Indians and numerous foundations of mission-posts to his credit when he entered the Chicago River in April, 1677, being then on his way to the Illinois country to take up the missionary tasks that had fallen from the hands of the dead Marquette. Apparently somewhere along the river, he met a band of eighty Indians by whom he was welcomed with great display of cordiality. For ten years to come he was to be the most conspicuous missionary in the Illinois region, his name being frequently mentioned in contemporary records in connection with the Miami Indians settled at Chicago.

The Catholic clergyman next associated with Chicago was the Jesuit, François Pinet. During the second half of the last decade of the seventeenth century he was resident within the present limits of the city as missionary-in-charge of the Miami Mission Post of the Guardian Angel. With him as associate in his labors was a fellow Jesuit, Father Jean Bineteau.

Speculation has been rife as to the exact location of this interesting seventeenth-century institution. It has been placed on the north branch of the Chicago River, on the banks of Lake Calumet, and on the marge of the now extinct body of marshy water known as the Skokie, at a distance of two miles north of Evanston. A critical reading of the only written document affording any clew to the location of the mission, namely, a letter penned by a Canadian missionary who visited it in October, 1698, leads to the conclusion that the mission was apparently situated between the forks and the mouth of the Chicago River. Adopting this solution of the problem the Illinois Catholic Historical Society affixed in the summer of 1932 to the northwest corner of the Builders' Building, Wacker Drive and LaSalle Street a memorial tablet which bears the following inscription:

IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
WAS FOUNDED IN THIS LOCALITY
THE JESUIT MISSION POST OF
"THE GUARDIAN ANGEL OF THE MIAMIS AT CHICAGOUA,"
THE EARLIEST CIVILIZING INSTITUTION TO ARISE
ON THE SITE OF THIS METROPOLIS

A few particulars of the missionary activities of this primitive establishment have come down to us; but they cannot detain us here. Suffice it to say that Father Pinet, missionary to the Miami of Chicago, resigned this charge in 1700 and moved south to Cahokia and thence to the Kaskaskia village on the opposite bank of the Mississippi at a point now within the municipal limits of St. Louis. Here he died August 1, 1702, his death being the earliest recorded for the territory which is now Missouri. His successor at Chicago was Father Jean Mermet, who withdrew from the place about 1702, the Mission of the Guardian Angel apparently coming to an end with his departure. Reviewing the seventeenth-century period of Catholic activity in Chicago, we find the names of at least fifteen Catholic clergymen mentioned in contemporary records as having visited the locality of Chicago before 1702—Marquette, Allouez, Hennepin, Pinet, Bineteau, De la Ribourde, Membré, Douay, Cavalier de la Salle, Montigny, Davion, St. Cosme, Gravier, Foucault and Mermet.*

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century Chicago was, more so than was to be the case during all the century that followed, on the map literally and figuratively. The explorer La Salle was the first to write its name, which he did as early as 1680, referring to the "place called Checagou," words which intimate that he did not invent the name but found it already in use. Franquelin's map of 1684 was the first to register it, which it did under the form "Checagoumenan." His famous map of 1688 has "Fort Chicagou." This last spelling was the one most frequently in use in the French period and one meets it even in the early nineteenth century. Cartography all through the years that follow was to carry uninterrupted mention by name of the natural strategic point for trade and

*Of the group, Hennepin, De la Ribourde, Membré, and Douay were Franciscans accompanying La Salle on his famous exploring trips. The first two were with the explorer when he journeyed down the west shore of Lake Michigan in 1679; the last named was with Joutel, La Salle's lieutenant, at Chicago in 1687 and 1688. Membré crossed the Chicago site with Tonti in 1680.

commerce which lay in the immediate vicinity of the portage between the two great river systems of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. For it was the portage, as every student of Chicago origins comes to know, which made Chicago. Over this narrow ribbon of land, now enclosed within the limits of the metropolis, passed most of the freight and passenger traffic between Canada and the Mississippi Valley in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Furs for Paris, dispatches for Quebec or Versailles, supplies for the French posts in the Illinois country, traders and trappers, military officers and troops, Indian warriors, missionaries coming down from or returning to the upper lake region—these were factors in the picturesque tide of freight and travel that passed for a spell across the Chicago portage. Here at Chicago was a mission post with resident pastors, as we have seen; here Tonty and La Forest had a storage house for furs. Here was a French military post referred to more than once in documents of the day. Anyone who has worked among the surviving records of that remote period cannot but be impressed with the casualness with which Chicago, in an orthographical form almost identical with the one we know, is referred as a perfectly well known and familiar place. Frontenac mentions it in his dispatches to Versailles. Five extant letters are dated from it, while in the correspondence of contemporary missionaries the place finds mention a score of times.

But all this activity centered in and about Chicago ceased abruptly with the turn of the seventeenth century. The explanation is not far to seek. As long as the Portage Route, the key to Canada, was kept open, Chicago was inevitably a place of consequence in the contemporary scene. When the Portage Route became closed to trade and travel by Indian hostility as occurred in the opening years of the eighteenth century, French Chicago went into eclipse and became an historical blank. It was to remain such until the last decade of the same century. Here then is a rational basis for a division one may make of Chicago history into ancient and modern. The ancient period is circumscribed by the last quarter of the seventeenth century, years which saw the heyday of French colonial activity in the Chicago area; the modern period began, if it be desirable to fix the beginning by date, with the acquisition by the United States government in the treaty of Greenville, 1795, of a tract of land

six miles square lying at the mouth of the Chicago river and with the subsequent building thereon of a military post, Fort Dearborn.

Ancient Chicago on its religious side began with the arrival of Father Marquette in September, 1673; it ended with the withdrawal of the last resident Miami missionary, Father Mermet, in 1701 or 1702. The first contact made by a clergyman with modern Chicago was made by the Sulpician missionary, Father Michael Levadoux, who early in July, 1796, reached, as he wrote in a letter, "the borders of Lake Michigan, that is to say, a village called Chicago." Obviously he felt that his correspondent might not easily catch the reference to so obscure a place. If seventeenth century letter-writers needed only to mention the name without further explanation or gloss, this apparently was not a safe procedure for the letter-writer of a hundred years later if he wished to be understood. Even Bishop Flaget, writing as late as 1815, spoke of a Catholic congregation "in a place usually designated as Chicagou," while six years later Father Gabriel Richard recorded that he "arrived at a post called Chicago near a little river of the same name." Nine years afterwards, in 1830, Father Stephen Theodore Badin writes from Niles in Michigan territory: "I am on my way to Chicago or Fort Dearborn on the west shore of Lake Michigan in the state of Illinois fifty miles from here." But all such geographical data and glosses honestly meant to identify the petty settlement at the St. Lawrence-Mississippi portage were soon to prove superfluous. As early as 1833, the petitioners for a resident priest flatly declared themselves, "We, the Catholics of Chicago, Cook County, Illinois." And yet good Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, to whom the petition was addressed, did not quite measure up to the assurance of the Chicagoans. In the written credentials which he put in the hands of the priest sent by him in answer to the petition he commissions him pastor of the Catholics "inhabiting the town commonly called Chicago."

Modern Chicago was visited by three Catholic clergymen before a fourth settled down in the place as resident pastor. Father Michael Levadoux spent a day and a half here in the July of 1796 while on his way from Cahokia to Detroit. This was truly a fleeting visit and the letter in which he records it dismisses the experience in a sentence or so. The only detail which he saw fit to mention was that "he was visited by a great

Indian chieftain and a large number of his braves." Twenty-five years later, in September, 1821, Father Gabriel Richard, the next clerical visitor of record to modern Chicago, arrived on the ground. He came to participate in the Chicago Indian treaty of that year as agent for a group of Potawatomi Indians; but the treaty proceedings were over when he reached the village. On occasion of this visit he said Mass in the house of a Canadian, as he calls him, very probably the merchant-trader, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, and in the afternoon of the same day preached to the garrison of Fort Dearborn. Father Richard's Mass was, as far as written records attest, the first in the locality after the passing of the Jesuit missionaries at the turn of the seventeenth century. Nine years were to elapse since Father Richard's visit of 1821 before another Catholic clergyman would set foot in Chicago. Father Theodore Stephen Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, visited the place in October, 1830, from the Catholic Potawatomi mission near Niles, Michigan, of which he was in charge. A letter of his records the visit but what was said or done on the occasion is left unchronicled.

Meantime the Catholics of Chicago were becoming numerous enough to feel that they had a claim to the services of a resident pastor. In 1833 they made written petition to this effect to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, who was then exercising the powers of Vicar General in Eastern Illinois on behalf of the Bishop of Bardstown, to whose jurisdiction the Chicago area officially belonged. The petitioners, guaranteeing adequate material support for a resident priest, reported the number of Catholics in their "new and flourishing city," as they boldly described it, to be almost a hundred. As a matter of fact the thirty-seven names signed to the document, each being followed by the number of persons in the signer's family, account for a Catholic population at this juncture of one hundred and twenty-eight. Basing his calculation on the number of votes at the first election of town trustees, August, 1833, Andreas, the historian of Chicago, concludes that the population of Chicago at this date was a hundred and forty-four, a figure which is probably much below the mark. In any case, the Catholic population at the same date very probably ran over fifty per cent of the whole. Nearly two-thirds of the names affixed to the petition are those either of French Canadians or Potawatomi mixed-bloods, the latter

element being numerically the most considerable. The petition, which is drawn up, in French, states specifically: "There are several families of French descent born and brought up in the Roman Catholic faith and others quite willing to aid us in supporting a pastor." The list of petitioners includes the names of not a few persons prominent in the pioneer beginnings of modern Chicago, among them those of Major William Whistler, commandant of Fort Dearborn and son of Captain John Whistler, its founder; Major Thomas Jefferson Vance Owen, Indian agent at Chicago and first president of the local Board of Town Trustees, an office corresponding to that of mayor; John S. C. Hogan, the town's first postmaster; Anson Taylor, who built the first bridge over the Chicago River; Colonel Jean Baptiste Beaubien, merchant-trader, whose claim to the Fort Dearborn reservation, disallowed by the United States Supreme Court, was a *cause célèbre* among American land suits; his brother Mark, proprietor of early Chicago's most historic hotel, the Sauganash; Alexander Robinson, of Scotch-Ottawa origin, a Potawatomi chief, whose reservation on the Desplaines River is now a part of the Cook County Preserves; William Caldwell, of English Potawatami stock, business chief of the Chicago Potawatomi and, with Alexander Robinson, principal representative of the tribe at the historic Indian Treaty of 1833; Antoine Ouilmette, whose name is perpetuated in that of one of Chicago's most attractive suburbs, the site of which was at one time in his possession; and finally Pierre or Pierish Le Clerc, outstanding Indian orator, who in the capacity of interpreter arranged the terms of surrender after the Fort Dearborn massacre of 1812.

The petition addressed by Chicago Catholics to Bishop Rosati came at an opportune time. A few days before it reached him he had raised to the priesthood a young Frenchman, John Mary Irenaeus St. Cyr, whom he now commissioned to take in hand the Catholic pastorate of the rising town in the North. The whole affair was arranged with surprising dispatch. On April 6 Father St. Cyr received ordination at Rosati's hands; on the 16th the latter found the Chicago petition in his mail; on the 17th he answered it; on the 18th Father St. Cyr set out from St. Louis for Chicago under escort of Anson Taylor, one of the signers of the petition.

The experiences undergone by Father St. Cyr as he took up and carried on the absorbing task of organizing the first Catholic

parish in Chicago were detailed by him in vividly written letters to his Bishop in St. Louis. Much of the clerical correspondence of the pioneer period, nearly always valuable source material for the historian even from other than religious points of view, has perished. Fortunately Father St. Cyr's Chicago letters are still extant in the archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of St. Louis. From them we get a graphic record of heavy travail of body and spirit extending over four years. Economically the outlook never ceased to be disconcerting. In his first communication St. Cyr informed the Bishop that if he were to receive a letter from him he should not be able to pay postage for a reply. The transportation charges of two dollars and a half on his trunk he had to meet with borrowed money. But with Mark Beaubien as chairman of the building fund he went ahead laying plans for the erection of the modest little church. Pending its occupancy he held services in a log building about twelve feet square situated on the west side of Market Street across from Mark Beaubien's hotel and apparently the latter's property. He had arrived in Chicago May 1, 1833. Four days later, May 5, he said Mass in this improvised chapel. Meanwhile, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, Mark's elder brother, had offered a lot, the one later occupied by the Tremont House, for the nominal sum of two hundred dollars. But this was too large a sum to raise among the Catholics, who had exhausted their resources by subscribing to the building fund. The church was eventually built on a so-called canal lot, one of the many placed by the United States Government at the disposal of the Commissioners of the Michigan and Illinois Canal for the financing of this project. The lot, which was located on the north side of Lake Street immediately west of the line of State Street, not then laid out, was not purchased, as it was not actually for sale. However, assurance was given Father St. Cyr that when it came on the market no bid would be allowed at a figure higher than the valuation to be placed on it by the Commissioners. The church, the builder of which was Augustine Deodat Taylor, was of frame, measured thirty-six feet long, twenty-four wide and twelve high, cost some four hundred dollars and had the first church bell known in Chicago. It was given the name, St. Mary's. Mass was said in it the first time by Father St. Cyr in October, 1833, for a band of Catholic Indians, three hundred in number, who had come to Chicago from South Bend for their

annuity. But the building long remained unplastered and Father St. Cyr had to journey to St. Louis to solicit aid from the Catholics of that city. "Up to the present," he wrote to Bishop Rosati shortly before starting on his trip, "we have had Mass and Vespers sung every Sunday with all the solemnity possible under the circumstances. People enter into these services with great earnestness. I have hopes that with the grace of God and the charity of the faithful and in spite of all difficulties and miseries it will be possible to organize a congregation of good Catholics here in Chicago."

Under Father St. Cyr's second successor in Chicago, Father Timothy O'Meara, the canal lot, which was the first site of St. Mary's Church, eventually came on the market at the Commissioners' appraisal of ten thousand dollars. The price was a prohibitive one for the parishoners, who saw the property pass into the hands of a Mr. Dexter Graves. Father O'Meara thereupon purchased from the United States Government, it being part of the Fort Dearborn reservation, a lot on the north side of Madison Street between Wabash and Michigan Avenues and had the church moved to this location. Title to this property passed as recently as 1920 from the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago to Montgomery Ward and Company, who had erected on it the conspicuous skyscraper that bears their name. St. Cyr's little frame church was later moved from this second site to a third site on Madison Street to the rear of the brick church of St. Mary's. This edifice, erected by Father Maurice de St. Palais at the southwest corner of Madison Street and Wabash Avenue, was opened for divine service Christmas day, 1843. Both the frame and brick churches of St. Mary's were swept away by the great fire of 1871.

These were hectic forward looking days in "the village called Chicago," which incorporated as a town in June, 1833, a month later than Father St. Cyr's arrival on the scene. A sense of coming greatness was already in the air. St. Cyr shared it, as frequent comments in his correspondence indicate. A month after he came he wrote to Rosati: "To give you some idea of Chicago I will tell you that since my arrival more than twenty houses have been built, while materials for new ones may be seen coming in on all sides. The situation of Chicago is the finest I have ever seen. Work is now proceeding on a harbor that will enable lake vessels to enter the town. Three arrived

lately crowded with passengers who came to visit these parts and in most cases to settle down. Everything proclaims that Chicago will one day become a great town and one of commercial importance." The following September he wrote again to the Bishop in a similar vein: "There is no news which might interest you, Monseigneur, apart from the extraordinary growth of Chicago, which only a little while ago was nothing but a small village. Now there is a street a mile long [Lake Street] and soon there will be two others of the same length." In June, 1834, he had the same story to repeat: "I cannot give you the population of Chicago exactly. The common opinion is that there are two thousand inhabitants in town and every day you may see vessels and steamboats put in here from the lake crowded with families who come to settle in Chicago. Everyday new houses may be seen going up on all sides. Surgunt moenia Trojae." A final quotation, August 3, 1835: "The town of Chicago is growing rapidly. Immigration was so considerable for a space of almost three weeks that there is fear of a famine. A barrel of flour has sold as high as twenty dollars."

In 1834 the diocese of Vincennes was erected with Indiana and Eastern Illinois for territory. Chicago, as included in its jurisdiction, was to be visited twice by the first incumbent of the new see, Bishop Bruté. He, like St. Cyr, reacted in wonder to the miracle of urban growth that he saw going on under his own eyes. Under date "Chicago, 7th of May [1835]" he wrote: "Of this place the growth has been surprising even in the west, a wonder amidst its wonders. From a few scattered houses near the fort it is become, in two or three years, a place of great promise. Its settlers sanguinely hope to see it rank as the Cincinnati of the North. Here the Catholics have a neat little church. Americans, Irish, French and Germans meet at a common altar, assembled from the most distant parts of this vast republic or come from the shores of Europe to those of our lakes. Reverend Mr. St. Cyr is their pastor. They have already their choir supported by some of the musicians of the garrison. Many of the officers and a number of the most respectable Protestants attend. The Bishop on his arrival in the diocese had been invited by the Protestants as well as the Catholics of this place to fix his residence among them and felt his gratitude revived by the kind reception he now received." In 1838 Bruté was again in Chicago where he found the church unable to hold a

fourth part of the congregation: "Alas! so small a wooden church where I have just celebrated the Divine Sacrifice, though we have near a thousand Catholics, they tell me."

The Catholics in Chicago might increase in numbers, but they were distressingly lacking in material means. Father St. Cyr was joined for a while by an assistant priest, the Reverend Bernard Schaeffer. It soon became manifest that the support of two clergymen was too heavy a drain on the resources of the parish. One of the two had to seek another field of labor. The problem was solved by the retirement in 1837 of Father St. Cyr, who found a new ministerial post in the diocese of St. Louis, within the limits of which he served for forty-six years longer, dying as late as 1883. Around his name is written the chronicle of Catholic beginnings in modern Chicago.

Ecclesiastically, Catholic Chicago has been under the successive jurisdiction of the Bishops of Quebec (1671?), Baltimore (1791), Bardstown (1808), Vincennes (1834), and Chicago (1843). For a decade prior to the installation of the first resident bishop the town was attached to the See of Vincennes. On September 30, 1843, the Holy See issued a brief erecting the Diocese of Chicago with the entire state of Illinois for territory. When Bishop William J. Quarter, first incumbent of the new see, arrived in Chicago May 5, 1844, he found the new St. Mary's Church of brick still unfinished and as a consequence had to hold services in the old frame church which he described in his diary as "a long, low frame building having a small steeple and surmounted by a cross." With only a single church available for services it could scarcely be said that the period of Catholic beginnings in Chicago was over even though the place was blessed with the presence of a bishop. But Bishop Quarter was a vigorous, enterprising personality overflowing with youthful energy and he set himself without delay to supply the needs, both ministerial and educational, of his flock. During his brief incumbency of four years, he died prematurely in 1848, he gave three new churches to the city, St. Patrick's, St. Peter's, and St. Joseph's, opened the first parish school, founded the University of St. Mary of the Lake and planned a charity hospital and an orphanage, the last two projects being carried out under his successor. He was the man who led the Catholic Church in Chicago out of the uncertainties and struggles of the strictly pioneer period of its history into the initial stages of the mature

development of heroic proportions that it was destined to achieve. The single parish of St. Mary's which he founded when he first set foot in Chicago in the May of 1844 has multiplied with the years until today, a century after the coming of the first resident Catholic pastor to the city, the municipality counts some two hundred and fifty Catholic parishes within its limits.*

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Loyola University
Chicago

*The centennial of the first organization of the Catholic Church in Chicago by Father St. Cyr was celebrated with solemn services at St. Mary's Church, Chicago, Sunday, May 28, 1933, Cardinal Mundelein presiding and Bishop Smith of Nashville preaching the sermon. A memorial volume commemorating the event was issued on the occasion by the Paulist Fathers, present pastors of St. Mary's Church.

DOCUMENTS

THE FIRST CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS OF CLINTON COUNTY, ILLINOIS

The following information on the first settlements of the Catholic Low Germans of Clinton County, Illinois, was gathered in 1866 by Reverend Bartholomew Bartels, pastor at the time of St. Boniface Church, Germantown, Illinois. It appeared originally in the *St. Louis Amerika*, April 9-14, 1881. The translation from the German has been made by Reverend Frederic Beuckman of Belleville, Illinois, who has also supplied the notes together with the sketch of Father Bartels in the present issue of *MID-AMERICA*.

Father Bartels's record is an interesting example of foresight in recording data of a type which is and will continue to be of great value not only for the history of pioneer American Catholicism but also for the history of European immigration in the United States. This latter has become a promising field of research and is now being worked to excellent purpose by Professor M. L. Hansen of the University of Illinois and other scholars. It is sorely to be regretted that more of our Catholic pioneer priests did not follow Father Bartels's example.

NOTES ON THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS OF CATHOLIC LOW- GERMANS IN CLINTON COUNTY, ILLINOIS. BY REV. BARTHOLOMEW BARTELS.

Before we proceed to give these notes to the public, let it be stated that they were made in December, 1866, during several meetings of a number of farmers of Germantown, Illinois. Their statements, made at the time, are the basis of the notes. These do not claim completeness, though with this limitation they are verbally true and genuine. Their truth is guaranteed by the character of the narrators, who were themselves among these first settlers, and have themselves lived the events of this narrative. Doubtless the readers of "*Amerika*," for whom these notes are intended, will read them not without interest.

It is strange that in all the settlements of Catholic Low-Germans in Illinois known to us as here (Germantown) and at Mud Creek,¹ St. Clair

EDITORIAL NOTE.—Readers of the Grassi Letters in the April, 1933, issue of *MID-AMERICA* will be interested to know that the originals of these letters are in the Archives of Notre Dame University. The entire collection has been edited by Rev. Harold Fiedler, C. S. C., of Holy Cross Seminary, Notre Dame, and submitted by him to the University of Notre Dame as part fulfillment of the requirements of the Master's Degree.

¹ Mud Creek. Another early name of this settlement was Oka, the present St. Libory. The parish buildings are located in the village named on the eastern boundary line of St. Clair County, approximately at the juncture of Clinton and Washington Counties. During the thirty-three year pastorate of Rev. Anthony Brefeld, who died September 7, 1912, were built the very large clere-story brick Gothic church, the large two-story

County, and at Teutopolis, Effingham County, poor land was everywhere located in preference to more fertile land that could be found. The settlers coming via and from St. Louis passed over land far richer and closer to the market to settle in the swampy, fever-infested sections, where very many, especially during the first years, succumbed to malaria. One need but look at the large, filled up cemeteries. The Hannoverians [German-town] passed up the rich land of the Rich Prairie² and the Lookingglass Prairie, and the Mud Creekers that of the Twelve Mile Prairie. The reasons therefor may have been many. However, it seems that these immigrants sought primarily the creeks and the timber skirting their

brick school and auditorium, and the substantial two-story brick rectory. This is a strong rural settlement of Hannoverians and Westphalians and their descendants. It must be included in the group of the Clinton County parishes ethnologically and more so by reason of its twin settlement and establishment as a parish and early joint pastorate with the mother parish of Clinton County, St Boniface of Germantown. From the inception of these two settlements and parishes of the early eighteen-thirties divisional and separate parish establishments with resident pastors date as follows: Breese since 1858, Carlyle since 1859, Damiansville since 1861, Aviston since 1865, Trenton since 1868, St. Rose since 1870, Bartelso since 1884, New Baden since 1896, Beckemeyer since 1905, Albers since 1908, and Marydale, with church since 1884, and with pastor since 1895. The erection of a church at Carlyle antedates the first resident pastor by four years. A second parish in Breese, with resident pastor, was established July 1, 1911.

² Prairies are the dominant topographical feature of Illinois and characterize it as the Prairie State. These treeless tracts of virgin land, inviting immediate cultivation, were the lure of the European immigrants, beginning with the eighteen-thirties, and a factor which advanced Illinois in the decade, 1850-1860, from eleventh to fourth position among the states of the Union. So general was the interest awakened by the prairies that Charles Dickens, the English novelist, during his American visit as far west as St. Louis in 1842, records in his *American Notes*: "As I had a great desire to see a prairie before turning back from the furthest point of my wanderings, and as some gentlemen of the town had in their hospitable consideration an equal desire to gratify me, a day was fixed before my departure for an expedition to Looking Glass Prairie, which is within thirty miles of the town [St. Louis]." In Chapter XIII Dickens describes his jaunt to this prairie. Cfr. "A Jaunt to Looking Glass Prairie," by Rev. Frederick Beuckman, *Belleville Daily News Democrat*, February 20, 1933, an editorial full page review of Chapter XIII of Dickens's *American Notes*.

Rich Prairie, really Ridge Prairie, lies entirely within St. Clair County north of Belleville. Triangular in shape, it is bounded on the west by a line running from the northeastern outskirts of Belleville to the Caseyville Bluffs, and on the east by the Belleville-Shiloh high ridge road, from which a magnificent view can be had of this prairie and also of the Shiloh Valley where the earliest so called Latins or graduates of German universities, refugees from political disturbances in the home land, settled in the early eighteen-thirties.

Twelve Mile Prairie lies between Richland Creek and Belcher Hills in St. Clair County, south of a northern boundary line from Freeburg to Douglas and down into Monroe County.

Looking Glass Prairie runs southward from Pochohontas in Bond County between Silver Creek on the west and Shoal Creek on the east and includes principally territory within Madison and St. Clair Counties, and small edges of Bond and Clinton Counties. Dickens's view of this prairie was from an elevation between Lebanon and Summerfield.

banks, above all land which resembled their native land. The High Germans, far later in their advent, secured the left-over, yet far richer land of the Rich Prairie, the Lookingglass and the Twelve Mile Prairies, where subsequently arose the towns of Trenton, Summerfield, O'Fallon, New Baden, and in St. Clair County, Mascoutah and Freeburg. From Germantown, formerly Hannover, were established the Catholic Low-German parishes and towns of Breese, Damiansville, Aviston and Blue-Mound.³

It was in the year 1833 that Ferdinand Boehne of Haste, a half hour from Osnabreuck, then the kingdom of Hannover, now the Empire of Germany, and Frederic Hemann of Rulle, a parish one hour from Osnabreuck, decided to emigrate to America. Frederic Hemann was the uncle of Herman, Frank and Ferdinand Hemann, now living in Germantown. They came by sailing vessel from Bremen and landed in Baltimore. From there they went to Bedford, Pennsylvania, where by work they secured money to travel farther. In 1834 they proceeded thence, with Thomas Johnson of Liverpool, to St. Louis. Whilst hunting in Illinois they came on an American farmer named Alexander who lived three miles west of Lebanon. After being well received by him, and having been given refreshment, they hiked farther eastward, and arrived at the Usselmann farm, now owned by Peter Stammen, about a half mile from Germantown. There five American families had settled, whose holdings they purchased.

Thomas Johnson was, as he stated, the son of a rich merchant of Liverpool, who through the loss of merchants ships had suffered bankruptcy. He had received two thousand dollars and later another two thousand dollars. Our two Low Germans had nothing but their sound bones and worked for Johnson. The five purchased holdings were each of ten acres, and are located on Usselmann, Dufts and Kreke's land. All land as far as Lebanon was yet wild prairie, except that on the Sugar Creek lived a couple of American families. There were also some places inhabited by American farmers, where today is the brick yard on the Kniepmann place, and where Peter Wildhaber, Henry Ripperdaa, and Nicholas Frerckers live, each claim constituting ten acres. The ways through the prairie were mere cattle paths and deer runs. The prairie grass was so high that horses could hardly be sighted. Flies and insects

³ Blue Mound Settlement is today known as the parish and hamlet of St. Rose, north of Breese. The church grounds and buildings are located within about five hundred feet to the north of the long broadside of the symmetrically sloping Blue Mound. The very large brick Romanesque church was built by seventeen pioneer families even before an attending or resident priest was appointed. Rev. Theodore Kamann arrived as pastor in August, 1870, and so remained until his retirement in 1920. He died November 14, 1926, in Germany.

During the incumbency of the Rev. John Quack, the present pastor, a two-story modern brick school was built with a first-floor auditorium set at right angles thereto and to the church, which arrangement creates a beautiful open court on the epistle side of the church. During his pastorate has also been built the new two-story brick modern residence, which stands in a forward position on the gospel side of the church. This setting, within a beautiful landscape of lawn and a well-placed variety of low growth spruces and pines, makes this parish-building group the most picturesque in that county.

molested the horses so severely as to cause them to roll in an attempt to free themselves of the pest.

After the first three arrivals came in 1834 Frederic Hedemann with his mother, two brothers and three sisters; they located on the so-called Hummers place, a mile eastward between Breese and Germantown. This family later left, probably because as Protestants they preferred a settlement of their co-religionists.

In 1835 arrived Theodore Bornholt, native of Rulle, and Frank Haukap from Haste whom the former had prevailed upon to come. Both had worked some time in St. Louis. Frank Haukap had come with Boehne and Hermann across the sea, but had parted from them in Pennsylvania. He purchased the present Haukap place, eighty acres, from an American. Theodore Bornholt bought the place, where now resides Henry Usselman, Jr.

The nearest post offices were Lebanon and Carlyle. Of the last named, no one seemed to know.

Joseph Haukap, brother of the above mentioned Frank, and also Henry Siebenburgen, surnamed the Little, arrived directly from Germany on reports sent from here. Joseph, in 1836, purchased eighty acres adjoining the land of his brother, at the government price of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. Conrad Bornholt, now living in Breese, came to St. Louis in December, 1835. After a month spent there, his brother Theodore brought him along on his return trip from St. Louis. He had been detained a considerable while in New Orleans, as some guns brought along by him for his brother had been confiscated there. They were, however, returned to him, through the mediation of the ship's captain.

Early in 1836 came Henry Otten, father of Henry Otten of Aviston, and father-in-law of Henry Woestmann; he located on the place where Bernard Schlarman now resides. In the Spring, on the fifteenth of March, arrived via St. Louis Gerhard Hanewinkel with his wife, one son, and two daughters, one of whom married Herman Westermann. This couple yet lives, active and cheerful, three miles from Germantown. The other daughter married the first settler Boehne, then a widower. The family Hanewinkel came from Herzebrueck, an hour from Widenbrueck, Westfalia, having received word from their son Frederic, in Beardstown, where he was employed. This son and Biermann of Rheda had emigrated in 1833 from Langenberg near Wiedenbrueck with Rev. Caspar Ostlangenberg, who was later pastor of Belleville, and missionary in the two counties St. Clair and Clinton, and is at present pastor of Augusta, Ky.

Gerhard Hanewinkel bought from an American for about three hundred and fifty dollars eighty acres where Bernard Ripperdaa now lives. In 1837 his son rented the so-called Westerfeldhaus place, a two hundred acre tract, where Gerhard Karhoff is now resident.

Nicholas Frerker emigrated from Germany on the 15th of September, 1835. He came from Ankum, Hannover, via Bremen to New Orleans, being accompanied by a brother and his wife and two children. The sea voyage by sailing vessel lasted nine weeks and three days. He remained in New Orleans six months to earn money sufficient to continue his journey. After his arrival in St. Louis, he improvised a wretched little hut

in Illinois-town, now East St. Louis. Having one day just left the door of his hut on a game-hunt, he espied by mere chance a rider, Henry Otten, whom he had known in Germany, and who had made the ocean voyage with him. Otten had come from Germantown, and urged him to go immediately with him to that place. Joe Oxten, a Mormon and American, from the Sugar Creek, was just then in St. Louis with a wagon. They found him, and loaded house and all on his wagon. Frerker bought the claim on ten acres from an American for fifty dollars, and later "entered" this land. It is the place where today he still lives with his family, a well-to-do Catholic gentleman.

With Nicholas Frerker came Herman Koelker from Germany via New Orleans to St. Louis. He settled close to Frerker on land where later Albert Winkler lived and which Frerker had also bought.

It is evident that our pioneers faced serious hardships at the start. Most of them did not suffer hunger, although at times they lacked the most necessary means of a livelihood. Yet simple, very simple was their food. Cornbread with bran, hog meat, deer meat, and other game, and sometimes a few potatoes, was their food from day to day. Corn was about all that was planted. This was ground in a coffee-mill or otherwise stumped or beaten. But this required much time, and therefore a contrivance was sought to enable them to stump or beat corn in greater quantities. Frederic Hahnnewinkel called to his aid Nicholas Frerker to help him to stump corn. He had taken a section of a hollow tree and affixed thereto a solid bottom, into which the corn was thrown and pounded by means of a Nether-German whippel-well-hoist. This was constructed of an upright end forked limb, about fifteen feet high across the fork of which was fastened not quite on the center length a tree pole of lesser thickness. From the end of the pole overhanging the hollow tree mortar, was suspended another pole with a pounding mortar block attached, while to the handle of the balanced whippel-pole was fastened a balancing log weight which eased the labor of the operator in raising and lowering the corn-pounder, and enabled him to secure a greater quantity of meal-corn. This was the first primitive mill of our first settlers.

At Sommers Mill, four miles northeast of Breese on the banks of the Shoal Creek, there lived a negro who ground wheat, but with the bran. On Sundays, at times, wheat bread might vary the food. There was plenty of hog meat and game. Deer could be counted in droves of sixty to seventy. The aged Bernard Wobbe, who lives a mile and one-half from Germantown, still sound and well, made a count at one time of seventy.

At St. Louis could be purchased all necessary implements, but money was too rare. Most of the time, the settlers in general had none. However, the more did contentment reign, and mutual kindness and helpfulness, and greater was the joy when occasionally these settlers met each other. All clothes brought from Germany were economically worn to the last patch. For summer use white cotton clothes were purchased in St. Louis.

In a circuit of six miles there were only two iron-rimmed wagons one of which belonged to Heideman, and the other to Hemann and Boehne in partnership. Home-made wagons entirely of wood, without any iron,

called truck-wagons, were the possession of almost every farmer. The wheels were made from a cross cut of a log about four feet thick, which was rounded to a wheel, the bark being severed and in the center of this disk a hole was made, into which was inserted the axle of the wagon. The screeching of these wagons in motion, even if repeatedly greased, could be heard miles away. On Frerker's place I saw the wreckage of such a wagon. Yokes of oxen were the only animals hitched to these wagons. Yokes and harness were fashioned from the wood and the rind of hickory. Horses, and these were few, served only under the saddle to round up the stock and for the game-hunt.

The summer after Frerker's arrival came Christopher Schwale of Ennigerloh, Muenster. He was a cooper and "entered" the Schwale farm where now the mill, etc., stands. At the end of June came Herman Hemann. He left Rulle in 1834 for New York. From there he went to Buffalo, remained there a year and a half, and then by way of St. Louis came here directly. He had received in Germany a report from his uncle. At first he hired Boehne and Hemann in the winter. Then came the father, John Henry Hemann, with wife and four children, who built on government land and later "entered" forty acres, where now Henry Hemann, Jr., lives.

Frank Henry Schroeder left Germany August 7, 1835, going from Rulle to New York. On May 25 he arrived in Cleveland where on September 9 he married his present wife, Mary Elizabeth Beckmann, who had emigrated to America on the same voyage. He remained there a year and a month. Then on August 12 he proceeded to St. Louis. Between Cleveland and St. Louis he chanced to meet on a canal-boat the family of Herman Kniepmann, newly arrived from Germany, who were en route to their countryman, Hahnewinkel. On their arrival at St. Louis they at once transferred across the river to Illinoistown, and since they did not know the way to Germantown they quartered themselves in a shanty for three days.

Then Jan vom Emmerich of the Lower Rhine, where he had served on a ferryboat, approached them. He was captain of the ferryboat and later a part owner of the Wiggins Ferry Company. He died a few years ago; everyone knew him. Jan invited them to desert the unhealthy shanty and to quarter themselves on his ferryboat. He offered them a farm in the Bottoms for rental or purchase, for the country was yet too wild at Germantown. On this farm all of them soon became very sick; they decided not to rent, but to move on farther. Having remained two days, they met a Mr. Germain, who later lived in the neighborhood of Belleville. With his two ox teams he took them to his home at the Bluffs in French Village. There they remained three days. On a Sunday a man by the name of Cox, from the neighborhood of the present Aviston, drove along with his carriage. He took with him Schroeder only, for he had no place for any more, to his home in Hull, where they arrived at four o'clock that afternoon. After they had regaled themselves with a full meal, Cox showed Schroeder the hill where Conrad Bornholt lived. Miles through the tall prairie grass Schroeder wandered alone towards the hill. At times he saw the hill and again he lost sight thereof, and fear

seized him. Then he heard the howl of wolves and his fear intensified, for he did not yet know that the prairie wolf is not dangerous to man. Only recently we had a prairie-wolf here, caught when a cub, that was as tame as a dog. Then again a drove of twenty-five deer ran across his path, only to renew his fear. At last he reached the hill and found there a log cabin as yet uninhabited. Amazed, he stood, not knowing what to do. Then wandering about he espied smoke arising from a corn field. Pursuing that direction, he came to an American, named Coxen, who was occupied at the moment as a preacher, explaining the bible before him to a number of Americans who had come to the meeting.

He invited Schroeder to share his table with him, and after the meal went with him to show him the way to Boehne and Hemann. On their way they met with Herman Hemann and Frank Haukap. It was the fifteenth of August. Then, on the eighteenth of August, arrived both families, Schroeder and Kniepman, whom Coxen had gone to bring from Germains' place with two and three yoked ox-wagons. The families occupied jointly for about three weeks an old log-house on the Hahnwinkel place. Here the first daughter of Schroeder's, Mary Elizabeth, was born. Subsequently they jointly purchased eighty acres from an American Mormon, named Guenther, now the Thetszlings place. After they had lived there together one and a half years, they sold the land to Frank Remme and Meckmann. They fared very poorly at the start. They went about for three days to secure corn and could obtain none. Theodore Bornholt had given them some potatoes and also some bacon (at twelve and a half cents a pound) which he brought along for them from St. Louis. Schroeder now rented the widow Huttens place where at present is the brick yard on Kniepmann's farm, and Kniepmann "entered" the place where now Gerhard Kniepmann lives. On September third, 1836, Herman Westermann from Herzebrock arrived at Baltimore, and at once accompanied the family Hahnwinkel, by way of Cincinnati, to St. Louis. Here he remained four months. Then he came to Hannover for a month, thence returning to St. Louis another month, and then returned to remain here.

In the year 1837 he "entered" eighty acres, on which he lives to this day. At first he hired out; he also built a house for himself.

In May 1837 Martin Wachtel with wife and three children, Mark, Catherine and Elizabeth, arrived from Rheindakern via New York. After they had lived five years in Fairfield County, Ohio, they came to St. Louis. There they inquired of the priest Meyer about a suitable settlement. He informed them of this settlement and praised it, for he had a few weeks previously been here for the first time and became acquainted therewith. They then met an American from Lebanon, Nichols. For sixteen dollars he took them along as far as Lebanon. From there the men continued afoot, until they came to an American named Wooden on the present Schlarmann place. After they had first partaken of a meal, hospitality being a self-understood virtue of the pioneer Americans, he took them to Boehne and Hemann. The next day they drove with a wagon and a yoke of oxen to get mother, sisters and their baggage, for which last they paid four dollars. They remained here three days and then rented Haukap's place.

Soon thereafter George Meyering arrived from the neighborhood of Bekum in Westfalia with wife and mother and lived with the Wachtels three weeks. Then Meyering moved onto the Coxen place, and the Wachtels moved into the home of Theodore Bornholt, still single, who married Wachtel's daughter, Mary Elizabeth, mother of the wife of Frank Sprehe.

In the winter of 1836-37 Frank Schroeder and Herman Kniepmann went to St. Louis to secure work, and earn cash in wages. They observed their Easter there and returned home the vigil of Pentecost, March 26th. The other settlers here also desired to comply with their Easter duty. These attended a joint meeting and discussed the expense of getting a priest from St. Louis. Schroeder and Boehne were sent to Bishop Rosati. He promised to send the priest Meyer, who lived on the Bluff near Centerville with his brother. Boehne himself hastened to Father Meyer, who promised him that he would come the third Sunday after Easter. We were to call for him with saddle horses at Lebanon. He held a mission in the house of Boehne and Hemann.

The first day he baptized two children, Mary Elizabeth Schroeder and Mary Ann Alers. Reverend Father Meyer remained three days, and married two couples, Ferdinand Boehne and Margaret Hahnewinkel and Frank Haukap and Elizabeth Hemann. From that time we had every month a three days' mission at an expense of five dollars. Generally the priest came week days, some times on a feast day.

In the Summer of 1837 our settlers bought the church land, three forty-acre tracts at a price of seven hundred dollars. On this occasion the name was selected for this place. Some who had come from Westfalia wanted to have it called Westfalia; others who had come from Hannoveria wanted the name Hannover, and others again registered their vote for the joint name, Hannover-Westfalia. However, the latter name seemed too long, and when Frederic Hemann finally chalked on the door Hannover, everyone voted for this name.

Earnest consideration was now given to the building of a new church. As personal interest often came to the fore too strongly, disagreements arose among our settlers as to the place where the church was to be built. At times a disposition prevailed to build two churches. Finally a unanimous decision was reached to build only one, but unfortunately they selected for it the lowest place in the prairie. On the debt of seven hundred dollars, incurred for the purchase of the church land from an American named L. White, nothing was paid but the twelve per cent interest, because they had nothing. As surety, all pledged themselves, seventeen men. After a year the entire amount was paid. Our Low Germans had devised the wise scheme, which might elsewhere be recommended, of platting the one forty-acre church tract on which Germantown is now located into one-acre town-lots, and selling these at auction to the highest bidder. In the middle of this eight-acre tract stands the present church. All lots sold were to be paid for by the time the church land had to be paid for. All lots were paid for excepting two, for which the money was jointly placed.

Later the forty-acre tract, west of the other tract, was also platted

at various times and the greater part thereof sold. The forty-acre tract to the south was rented out, excepting the three acres whereon the saw and grist mill of A. Albers, B. Wallers and Th. Heidemann stood before its destruction by fire. This ground is now the numerously populated cemetery.

When this land was purchased three trustees were elected, Frederic Hemann, Theodore Bornholt and Frederic Otten. The title of the land was deeded to them and to them also all payments were made.

The first person who built on the townsite, the present Henry Schlattmann's place, was Chanton, a pedler and storekeeper. The second was the aged Lambert Ficker. He built between the Schlattmann and Herzog places, a dwelling and grocery, ten by fourteen feet. The third was Frank Haukap. He built the old block house, which today still constitutes the north part of the dwelling of the widow Cassens. Originally it was at the edge of the woods and had been occupied by an American. In this little house were grocery and boarding quarters, and therein lived Anton Honkomp and wife, the priest Fortman, the teacher Guithuese, later county clerk for a nine-year term, and now teacher at Teutopolis, Henry Lampen and wife of Carlyle, and others.⁴

On the church place stood a square block-house where Hemmelnagel now lives. All agreed after previous discussion that this should serve as the first church. A roof was built over it, a floor put in, and a small altar was nailed together. Since money for the erection of a church and an altar was wanting, everyone had to work gratis, and also to donate something. The times were very bad. Lamps were brought along from the homes, but there were neither chairs nor benches. However, one bench, split out of oak wood and supported by four props, built by the aged Hemann, served as Communion-rail.

The church land having been purchased, many new settlers arrived in 1838. In the beginning Henry Hemann taught school in his house for the neighbors, without pay, and on Sunday afternoons, Christian doctrine. In the same year Schroeder and Boehne were again sent to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, to ask for a resident priest. The Most Reverend Bishop promised as soon as possible to grant their request, and in the Spring of 1839 sent them the Rev. Father Ostlangenberg, who at the time lived at Mud Creek, and from now on was to live alternately two weeks here and two at Mud Creek. A small log house ten by twelve feet was therefore built for the priest's dwelling. Frank Haukap received the contract on his bid of fifty dollars, which was the lowest. He was a farmer, but handy at all work; he also built the window and the winding block, "Dreh-block." The house had but one room. At first, the bed was borrowed from Mersmann, who a few years ago died in Quincy. A little table and two chairs constituted the furnishings of the house. Father Ostlangenberg boarded with Mersmann.

⁴ Christopher Henry Guithuese was the father of Theodore, teacher for a lifetime at Bishop, Effingham County, and at Lively Grove, Washington County; of Bernard Guithuese, life-long teacher at Red Bud, Belleville, and the Franklin School and the Howe Institute of East St. Louis and of Rev. Christopher Guithuese, O. F. M., deceased professor of the Franciscan colleges at Teutopolis, Ill., and Quincy, Ill.

On one of his trips from Mud Creek hither it happened that the Okaw river had risen too high to ford it at the Milton Ferry. Father Ostlangenberg, having tied his clothes to the saddle of his white horse, well known in two counties, attempted to swim the creek, lost horse and clothes, and landed naked on the shore. He ran to within hailing distance of the house of Frederic Peke, not far away, and at the top of his voice shouted from behind the concealment of the fence. The wife of the home came, but he called to her to bring her husband's clothes, which she did. The riderless horse had returned home.

In August, 1839, Rev. Henry Fortmann became pastor here, after Father Ostlangenberg had been assigned Mud Creek and other stations. Father Fortmann had also to attend the missions of Highland and Covington, an Irish settlement near Nashville, Ill.

In the Autumn consideration was given to the building of a new church, since the old one was too small. At services all used their song books brought from Germany, and they sang as well as they could, while Joseph Ostendorf "pounded the organ." Every Sunday a meeting was held about the erection of a new church. Father Fortmann became architect and carpenter, and made plans for church, school and priest's residence in one building. The estimated cost exceeded one thousand dollars, and amounted to thirteen hundred dollars when the building was completed. The lumber for this frame structure was sawed by the settlers with a saw which is pulled up and down as in Germany. In the Spring of 1840 the work of construction began. The dimensions of the church were forty by thirty feet. To the rear was the school and priest's quarters, twenty feet long, the entire building being sixty feet long. Above the sacristy and school were the priest's quarters. Father Fortmann took his meals at Schroeder's. The church stood north of the present mission cross and north also was the first cemetery, wherein the first burial was that of the eighty-three-year-old Wetken, who had been here but a short time. Father Fortmann worked along with Timmergerd, Herman Hemann and Abel, and felled the trees. Since the funds again became exhausted, two farmers had to serve right along as helpers. At Easter the church was finished excepting the floor.

A big feast was now to be celebrated, and every man with wife and children drove his ox-yoked wagon to church. However, Father Fortmann insisted that the deed to the church property must be transferred to the Most Reverend Bishop, and that no religious service should be held in the church before this was done. No service was therefore held on this Easter day and great excitement prevailed among the settlers. During the following week, however, the deed was transmitted to the Bishop, and dedication of the church and Mass were celebrated on Whit Sunday. On Pentecost an accounting was held and subscriptions were paid. Father Fortmann collected more donations in St. Louis and Cincinnati, and everything was paid excepting one account of three hundred dollars due to himself. This amount was paid later.

In the same Autumn, in October, a teacher and sacristan was secured, Christopher Henry Guithuese, who has already been mentioned. He kept school in the room over which Father Fortmann lived. When Mr. Guithuese

was not present, Father Fortmann put a cane through a hole drilled in the floor to preserve order. After Mr. Guithuese had served almost two years, which was up to the time of his marriage, a difference arose between him and Reverend Father Fortmann and another teacher, whose name is not remembered, succeeded him a short time. In 1842 the Most Reverend Archbishop of St. Louis came to administer confirmation. This was during the time the newly ordained Reverend Father Kuenster, well known in Quincy and Teutopolis, was living with Father Fortmann. The parish next received a married teacher named Doerner. He lived in the old church and taught school in the old priest's house. Since these quarters soon proved too small, a new frame school was built in 1845 on the place where the present school now stands. That frame school now serves as the cooorage of cooper Dumbeck. Teacher Doerner served about two years when Guithuese again taught one year.

In 1845 Father Fortmann was recalled from here, being succeeded by Rev. Andrew Tusch for three months. Then the so-called Pater Jacob from the Austrian Tyrol was pastor for five weeks. Bishop Quarter of Chicago on the occasion of his visit here removed him. Then followed for a period of one year the two Reverend Messrs. Jung, who were not related to one another. Between their pastorates a Father Arendsen was here but for a short time only. Then followed in the Autumn of the year 1848, the Rev. Pater Demetrius Marogna; he remained six years. He was the son of an Austrian counselor in Florence and died but a few years ago in St. John's Abbey in Minnesota, where the writer of these lines knelt at his grave in the Autumn of last year. After an attempt to recover his shattered health by a trip to St. Augustine, Florida, he visited in this parish several weeks, where he enjoyed especially the hospitality of his friend, Conrad Bornholt. Under his happy administration the parish was at peace and Bishop Van de Velde administered Confirmation. During his administration in 1849 and 1850 cholera scourged the parish and many were its victims. Sanitary precautions caused the cemetery to be transferred to its present place after a pair, dead of the cholera, had been buried on the old place. The first burial in the new cemetery was that of the wife of the cooper Henry Lammers, who lived where Bernard Wallers's stable now stands. Rev. Father Marogna built the second or southern part of the present pastor's home, adding four rooms. He undertook its erection in 1851. A young man, whom he had engaged as cook and sacristan, was carpenter and did the main work. Every family contributed two and a half dollars, and the balance he personally paid. All hauling was paid for. His salary was only three hundred dollars.

At the beginning of February, 1852, Rev. Father Wenniger conducted the first holy mission here and in the Autumn of the same year Reverend Marogna left the parish.⁵ In his place came again Rev. Henry Fortmann.

⁵ Wenniger. Doubtless Francis Xavier Weninger, S. J., who is referred to in the *Schematismus der deutschen und der deutsch-sprechenden Priester*, B. Herder, St. Louis, 1882, as follows: "People's missionary, with temporary residence in Cincinnati; born September 30, 1805, in Wildhaus near Marburg in Steyermark (Seckau); ordained September 30, 1828;

Serious thought was now given to the erection of the new and present church. The former frame church still stands today as a barn on the aged Ferdinand Becker's place, on the other side of Shoal-Creek. The plans for the present church were made by architect Robert Mitchel of St. Louis, who lost his life at sea in the burning of the *Austria*. The church lacks six feet of the wall height planned, as Father Fortmann dreaded the cost. Preparation for the work of construction required two years. The first year five hundred and fifty perch of stone for the foundation were hauled a distance of eight miles from north of Breese. At first the intention was to erect the church of brick, but it was now decided to build it entirely of the same limestone. The same stone was also used to burn lime, which, gray as it looks, had proved itself better than any other lime of the country.

A building committee of seven men was elected, Nicholas Frerker, William Molitor, Henry Altepeter, Theodore Huelsmann, Henry Lampen, and the aged Henry Becker and Henry Lensing from the present Damiansville, who however took no active part. The committee was too timid to guarantee the expense of the structure, and therefore all, about seventy families, had to pledge the amount over their signatures. The farmers located to the north, in view of the construction then going on of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, had discussed the erection of a church there at a later day. The church was built in the year 1858 at Breese, where at the time there were only three houses.

The church there was not yet finished when the writer of these lines was appointed its first pastor, after building at Teutopolis, as successor of Father Fortmann, a residence for the Franciscan Fathers, who had just arrived from Germany. He remained there but a few hours. Because of this anticipated severance of Breese some wanted to build the church smaller than planned. But Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago, who was present at the corner-stone laying, encouraged the people to build the church as originally planned, and himself donated one hundred dollars, because as he remarked, "this church would then be the largest in the state of Illinois." The church with its tower is one hundred and forty eight feet long and sixty five feet wide.

The contract was awarded to Grafstock of St. Louis. He was to do the masonry, carpentering and plastering, and to build the tower to a height of forty four feet for the price of twenty-four thousand dollars. The parish furnished sand, lime and stone. Sand and lime were hauled gratis, but the hauling of the stone was paid for. The contractor, however, died soon after construction had begun, and the contract was as-

in America since July 25, 1848; jubilarian since September 30, 1878. F. X. Weninger has during his thirty-three years of truly apostolic zeal, blessed with extraordinary success, repeatedly traversed the entire United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the cold regions of Northern Michigan, Minnesota and Dakota to Sunny Florida. By his missions and countless sermons in the German, English, French and Spanish languages he has reconciled thousands of fallen-away Catholics to the Church, brought them back to the practice of their faith, converted hundreds of Protestants and neo-pagans to the true faith, and promoted the establishment of many parishes."

sumed by Kuehne and Heckwolf, who until then had worked with him. The structure was completed in the year 1856. It proved very difficult for our settlers to pay the promised contributions for the church land, and one of them, Lambert Janssen, after the Autumn work, sold his yoke of oxen to cover the debt. Much was paid also by those who did not want their names mentioned. Money had repeatedly to be borrowed, and it required great effort to secure the same. On the account of the church itself it could hardly be had. They then went to St. Louis where they were fairly well known. After they had vainly inquired for two days, Ferdinand Becker proffered one hundred dollars and then requested to be excused since he must return home. His companions would not consent. After further consideration they appealed to another party, from whom they immediately received two thousand dollars. They then joyously returned to their homes.

Debt still rested on the parish in 1863 when the Most Reverend Bishop Juncker of Alton came to Germantown with Rev. Mathias Hiltermann, O. S. F., who in his greatly advanced age is still very active in St. Louis.

The impressive appeal of Father Matthias to the parishioners to clear the parish of debt so stirred their hearts, that the last six thousand dollars were subscribed immediately after the Mass and paid soon thereafter. As much service as the good Father Matthias had rendered everywhere throughout the West by his sermons, probably on no other occasion had he met with such an immediate, astonishing response.

In the Spring of the year 1856, before Pentecost, the church was dedicated by the Rev. P. Patschowski, S. J., of St. Joseph's Church, St. Louis.

In 1857 the Most Rev. Henry Damian Juncker, just consecrated Bishop of the newly established diocese of Alton, arrived at Germantown where he found the parish in great disunion and turmoil, so that he took Father Fortmann with him and left the parish without a resident priest. Immediately thereafter the Bishop accompanied by the Rev. pastor and founder of the parish a. Mud Creek, Augustin Brickwede, formerly of Quincy, made his first visit to Rome and laid the foundation for the remarkably rapid development of the diocese by securing the Reverend Franciscan Fathers, and a number of priests from the Dioceses of Muenster and Paderborn. Further, he established an intimate bond with the Most Reverend Bishop Martin of Paderborn, and his later intimate friend, John George Mueller of Muenster, who continued to send priests and students thereafter to his diocese.

In September 1857 the Reverend J. J. Kraemer was assigned here as pastor and remained until October, 1859. During his time the third northern addition to the priest's residence was built. The pastor and the relative quiet and contentment of the parish were probably the reasons why the Reverend Franciscan Fathers were sent, not to Germantown (as originally determined in Germany) but to Teutopolis. Here in the late Autumn of 1858, Fathers Damian, Capistran and Servetius, the latter now laboring among the Indians of the Diocese of Green Bay, and six lay-brothers, accompanied by the Reverend V. G. John Menge, rushed unannounced into the little three-room house of the writer at eleven o'clock at night. They remained and labored with him for several weeks in

intimate love and friendship, until the completion of the house erected for them.

In December 1858 the Reverend Franciscan Fathers, Capistran and Servetius conducted their first missions.

At this time the parish of Breesee was separated and received its own pastor. Rev. Kraemer was succeeded by the Rev. H. Frohboese as pastor until the end of 1863. He was succeeded in April 1864 by the Rev. Augustin Berger, who in 1862 advanced the western part of the parish to the status of a separate parish, Damiansville, and built there the first church. He died September 28, 1865, of malaria, and lies buried in the Germantown cemetery under a monument erected to his memory by the singing society of that time.

In November of the same year the northwestern portion of the parish, Aviston, was separated from Germantown, and became an independent parish with Rev. H. Boecker, now deceased, as pastor.

After the death of the Rev. A. Berger, the Rev. B. Bartels, pastor of Centerville, St. Clair County, was destined by the Most Reverend Bishop D. Juncker to succeed to the pastorate of Germantown; however, he pleaded earnestly to be spared, because of the many dissensions which had occurred there, and especially because of the malaria which prevailed there. As Rev. Father Brickwede had died in the meantime, the Most Reverend Bishop assigned him [Father Bartels] to the parish of Mud-Creek, now St. Libory. On his appearance at Alton by request of the Bishop, he was, however assigned to the pastorate of Germantown, where he arrived on the fifth of December, when the Reverend Fathers Rainerius and Ferdinand had just concluded a mission. During his administration the tower (begun by the deceased Father Berger) was completed; the interior of the church was renovated and tastefully decorated by decorator Arnold Hahne of Dayton, Ohio; a new high altar, two confessionals, and Stations of the Cross were installed by the altar builders, the Schroeder Brothers of Cincinnati; a quarter-hour-strike tower clock was made by Phillip Folhaus, deceased a few years ago; the present spacious priest's house was erected; a high-school for boys was established under the successful direction of Rev. Edward Essing, who died here August 26, 1878 (it unfortunately had to be discontinued because of the lack of a capable successor); the beautiful residence and school of the teaching and nursing Sisterhood of the Handmaids of Christ was erected for the education of girls and for the nursing of the sick in their own homes. Thus was the parish placed in the condition of freedom from debt in which it is to be found at this time.

These are concise and quickly recorded data on the development of the parish of Germantown, Clinton Co., as they were in part credibly reported by the settlers and in part known to the writer by personal experience. They were jotted down by him without assumption of responsibility for the exactness of some of the figures and dates narrated to him.

BOOK REVIEWS

Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians. By Grant Foreman. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1932, pp. 415, \$4.00 (The Civilization of the American Indian.)

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century many millions of acres of fair land, lying in the states of Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Florida, were in the possession of the five civilized tribes of Indians, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, Cherokee and Seminole. These Indians were agricultural in their mode of life, much advanced in culture beyond that of the nomadic, hunting tribes of the western prairies; the Cherokee even had a legislature and a constitution based on that of the United States. John Ross, for nearly forty years chief of the Cherokee, was a half-breed with Scotch blood in his veins; William McIntosh, a half-breed Creek chieftain, was the son of a Scotch trader. White men needed this land and were continually encroaching upon it. The chiefs were open to bribery, and when plied with whisky could be made to sign agreements that the tribe as a whole would refuse to ratify. As early as 1802 Georgia, in return for ceding western lands to the United States, had stipulated that the Indian titles to lands within her state should be extinguished "as soon as it could be done peaceably and on reasonable terms." In the twenties all of the states having Indians living within their borders were desirous that they should be removed; with the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828 Indian removal became a national policy.

In his work entitled *Indian Removal*, Grant Foreman has undertaken to give, as he says, "a candid account of the removal of these southern Indians, so that the reader may have a picture of that interesting and tragic enterprise as revealed by an uncolored day-by-day recital of events. Nor has he attempted an interpretation of these events or of the actions and motives of the people connected with them."

The sources used by the author have been always as nearly contemporaneous and original as possible: reports of army officers concerned in the removal of the Indians, letters and narratives written by those who took part in the events, and official documents. This material was to be found in manuscripts, in

Congressional publications, newspapers of the time issued close to the scene of action, and historical works containing quotations of original material. Secondary works have been used very sparingly.

The Indians were as a rule loth to leave the country where they and their ancestors before them had lived. "The southern Indians," says the author, "were people of fixed habits and tastes. They were not nomads like some western Indians; they were less inclined to wander to strange places than white people. . . . They cherished a passionate attachment to the earth that held the bones of their ancestors and relations." Removal meant for them "the long, sad journey toward the setting sun which they called the Trail of Tears." The several stories of these removals of the five tribes are in many ways alike. Upon the eve of their forced departure the Indians were beset by white men claiming their possessions on threat of legal process to satisfy obligations incurred—or never incurred—by the Indians; they were charged exorbitant prices for oxen, wagons, and supplies for their journey if, as some of them did in order to get the ten dollars paid by the government to those who chose to travel independently of the government parties, they made the journey on their own resources. Thinly clad owing to their long settlement in a warm climate, the Indians were ill prepared to withstand the cold, and sometimes ice and snow, encountered by them on the trip up the Arkansas River to their new lands; those who crowded the river steamboats caught and spread diseases, such as cholera, while exposure to the elements on the protracted journey through swamps or in camp brought on surprising mortality. Delays were caused by low water in the rivers and consequent failure of supplies to reach man and beast; wagons mired, overturned or broke down in the impassable roads; drunkenness prevailed wherever the Indians could procure whisky and the whites gave them every opportunity to do so.

The tone of the book, while it is not partisan for the Indians, is so uniformly an exposure of injustice, fraud and even robbery practiced upon them by whites, that one wonders whether the other side has been suppressed altogether. The evidence adduced is apparently unimpeachable so far as it goes; the weaknesses, failings and obstinacy of the Indians are permitted to appear. But the advance of the white man upon the territory occupied

by the Indian is represented only and always as due to greed for Indian land. There is no hint in the work of any extenuating circumstance. May not the process of removal have entailed evils that were unavoidable to a greater extent than would appear from the seemingly exhaustive evidence presented in this work?

Mr. Foreman's book is an excellent piece of typography. The type of the main text is Kennerley Monotype face, designed by Frederic Goudy, and the quotations are printed in an italic face modeled after the handwriting of Petrarch.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL, A. B.

Oconomowoc, Wis.

The Padre on Horseback. By Herbert Eugene Bolton. Sonora Press, San Francisco, 1932, \$2.00.

Fame, the jade, has a trick of running away from some who pursue her, and of seeking some who ignore her. Latterly, she has found out Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, an Italian Jesuit, who for the thirty years between 1681 and 1711 labored as a missionary in Mexico and what is now Arizona. Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton, of the University of California, was one of the first to bring Father Kino to contemporary notice. In *The Padre on Horseback* Professor Bolton sketches briefly and vividly the modest, zealous priest, who lived austere and heroically, in endless toil to instruct and minister to the Pima Indians, in building churches and schools, in amazing journeys on horseback to explore the Southwest. This small volume is a compact and popular presentation, based upon the large, scholarly works in which Professor Bolton has in the past so admirably revived the life and writings of Father Kino. It is written with sympathy, simplicity, and great charm, and is beautifully printed and illustrated.

WILLIAM T. KANE, S. J., Ph. D.

Loyola University
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The Tragedy of Old Huronia (Wendake Ehen). By a Pilgrim. A Popular Story of the Jesuit Huron Missions of Canada, 1615-1650. The Martyrs' Shrine, Fort Ste. Marie, near Midland, Ont., 1932, pp. xvi+282.

In *The Tragedy of Old Huronia* the author has presented a survey of the labors of the Jesuit martyrs of America. The book is intended for popular reading, especially for visitors to the Martyrs' Shrine which stands near the site of old Fort Ste. Marie; and although based on documentary sources, which are mentioned in the preface, it contains no bibliographical footnotes or comments.

The arduous task of the missionaries among the Huron Indians is described with some detail, year by year. The author depicts graphically the tremendous difficulties encountered by the priests and by their neophytes. The latter were subjected to persecution by their fellow tribesmen, who endeavored to prevent them from following the precepts of Christianity, to which the mode of life of the savages was so opposed. The Fathers were in perpetual danger, on the one hand from the unconverted Hurons, who frequently threatened them with death as being the cause of epidemics and famine, and on the other hand from the terrible Iroquois, who were determined to exterminate both Hurons and Frenchmen.

Against the dark background of superstition and lax morality the figures of the missionaries and such converts as Joseph Chiwatenwa, Joseph Tawatiron, and Joseph Téondéchoren stand out gloriously. Of Chiwatenwa Father Lalemant said that he "desired no brighter crown in Heaven than that of Joseph Chiwatenwa." After their many years of enduring, with magnificent courage, incredible hardships, death came at last preceded, in the case of some, by hideous tortures. In a list of the missionaries who labored in the Huron mission are given the names and period of service of four Recollets, twenty-five Jesuit Fathers, five lay brothers, and twenty-eight Oblates. The Jesuit martyrs who have been canonized, the first saints of the continent of North America, were Fathers Jogues, Daniel, Brébeuf, Lalemant, Garnier and Chabanel, and Brothers Goupil and Lalonde.

Writing of Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant, the Superior of the Huron mission at the time of their martyrdom, Father Ragueneau, said: "They were true martyrs, martyrs for having

devoted themselves to certain death for the love of God and the salvation of their neighbor; martyrs because the hatred of the Faith and contempt of God which animated their torturers, who heaped upon them sufferings as great as any martyr has ever endured." In an appendix accompanied by a map is given a topographical description of the more important missions mentioned in the book.

ETHEL OWEN MERRILL

Oconomowoc, Wis.

Pioneer German Catholics in the American Colonies, 1734-1784.

By Reverend Lambert Schrott, O. S. B., S. T. B., M. A. *Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States.* By Reverend Theodore Roemer, O. M. Cap., A. M. The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1933.

These two monographs dealing with related subjects are appropriately included in one volume. The thesis by Father Schrott is a well-reasoned analysis of the distinctive contribution of the German clergy and laity to Catholic faith and Catholic culture during the period of fifty years preceding the formal organization of the Catholic Church in the United States. The appended bibliography and footnotes give evidence of the author's wide reading and discriminating selection of data. Chapter VI, devoted to the German Catholic clergy and their work, deals with the labors of the German Jesuits in New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. Reverend Theodore Schneider, S. J., was the first of that cultured, zealous group of German Jesuits who provided leadership for the German immigrants and who extended their spiritual ministrations to Catholics "of German, American, Irish, English, French, and Negro blood with equal love and fervor."

The thesis by Father Roemer provides a rich fund of source material for the history of the Church in the United States during the decade 1829-1839. The Reverend Frederick Resé, who later became Bishop of Detroit, visited Europe in the interests of the Cincinnati diocese. Acting as Vicar-General of Bishop Edward Fenwick, Father Resé was instrumental in effecting the organization of the Leopoldine Society, whose object was to extend the faith in Asia and North America. Besides affording a cross section of the nascent Church in the Mid-West, the reports of the pioneer bishops and clergy provide material for

biographical sketches of many notable priests, whose achievements and methods in carrying the faith to the "non-churched" might be profitably studied and applied by the parish priests of the present day. Incidentally the activities of the Leopoldine Society in promoting the Catholic Church in the United States aroused the protests of the Nativists, who found a leader in Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph. Morse displayed the characteristic mentality of the provincial philistines by discovering in the Christian charity of our European brethren "a subtle scheme of the imperial Government of Austria to gain control over the free institutions of the United States."

The volume *Pioneer German Catholics in the United States* is a valuable contribution to historical literature; it will be useful to the research libraries of both secular and Catholic universities and colleges.

THOMAS F. CLEARY, Ph. D.

Philo, Ill.

Catholic Charities in the United States. By Rev. John O'Grady, Ph. D., Washington, D. C., 1933.

This is the first attempt to chronicle the early beginnings and development of Catholic charities in the United States. Anyone who has tried to gather data on the early history of the Catholic Church in the United States realizes the difficulties which Father O'Grady must have encountered in the writing of this work. The pioneers in our charitable institutions were so engrossed in providing means for the support of their charges that they had little time for the writing of reports and records. It is to Father O'Grady's credit, then, that he has so admirably succeeded in drawing for us so adequate a picture. That this history is by no means complete, he would be the first to admit. All that he essayed to do was to break the ground for future historians.

The book is written in such a simple and easy style that it will captivate the interest of any reader, even though he be not particularly interested in history.

The book fills an urgent need that Catholic social workers feel. From many quarters the calumny is repeated that the Church is static and reactionary; a hindrance to the progress of civilization; and little in sympathy with modern thought.

From the perusal of this book there will be gathered sufficient proof for the thesis that in the amelioration of social conditions in the United States the Catholic Church has played a leading role. Nor has she been slow to adopt the programs of sociologists, once these programs have solid basis.

The printing of the book is not satisfactory. It is hoped that in the second edition more attention will be given to the cutting of the pages.

LOUIS G. WEITZMAN, S. J., Ph. D.

University of Detroit

Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon. Edited by Clarence B. Bagley, 2 vols., Lowman and Hanford Co., Seattle, 1932.

These two volumes contain an unusual collection of historical material and one of unquestioned value for the historian. The work is not properly a connected history of missionary activity in the present state of Oregon, but rather a collection of contemporary accounts of ecclesiastical events in the "Oregon Country" of the first half of the nineteenth century.

The first volume contains a reprint of the *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon during the First Forty Years (1838-1878)*, by the Most Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchett, D. D., originally published in the *Catholic Sentinel* of Portland, Oregon, during the year 1878. Father Blanchett, later first Archbishop of Oregon City, with his companion, Father Modeste Demers, were the first Catholic missionaries in Oregon, being dispatched there in 1838. Bishop Blanchett's account of Catholic beginnings in the territory constitutes an historical account of primary importance for subsequent workers in that field of our Catholic history, although much of the material here contained has been incorporated into the scholarly *Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon* by the Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, now Bishop of Great Falls.

The second portion of the volume contains a reprint of an *Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman and other Missionaries, by the Cayuse Indians of Oregon, in 1847*, by the Very Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet, a witness of the events narrated. To one who has had occasion to scan the many pages of slander written to fasten the charge of inciting the murder on the Catholic missionaries then in Oregon, Father Brouillet's account

will provide a refreshing contemporary refutation of charges long since dismissed by all trustworthy historians.

The second volume consists of accounts sent by the early missionaries in the Oregon Country to the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, and of letters by the Sisters of Notre Dame then laboring in the same locality to their communities in Belgium. Dealing with a round of daily occupations then common enough perhaps to missionary religious on the frontier, they nevertheless afford us a glimpse of the magnitude and heroism of the work performed by these modest laborers in order that the fruits of the ministry of souls might be continued and increased in the hearts of coming generations.

Altogether the two volumes give us a rare insight into the early years of the Church in the Far West. Clearly "truth is prevailing," and the legendary history of the old "Oregon Country" is, like its most outstanding instance, the "Legend of Marcus Whitman," being fast discarded by a later, and we trust more impartial, generation of scholars. The student of American Catholic history owes a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Bagley, now deceased, and to Sister Daniels, the translator of a portion of the material, for preserving for future scholars this very acceptable body of material for the history of the Church in the United States.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR, A. M.

St. Louis University

Directory of Libraries of the Chicago Area. Chicago Library Club, 1933. 160p.

The Chicago Library Club, an organization of library workers that has in the past furthered library interests of the Chicago region in many ways, has recently issued a guide to collections contained in libraries of that section which should prove timely, and acceptable alike to librarians and to students and teachers, especially to those who visit Chicago for researches during the present summer.

Preceded by four historical sketches of the four local organizations, the body of the work consists of a directory of 437 libraries—public, school, college, special. Under the name of each are given date of establishment, number of volumes, character of the material in its collection, and brief bibliography. The student of American history will find indicated in this guide

the location of much material of value to him, all within convenient reach and available for his use without cost. While some of the libraries listed are for the use of members of the organizations maintaining them, the bulk of the material to be found in the Chicago area is in the possession of libraries that permit visitors bearing proper credentials to make reference use of it.

The student of American history or of the Catholic Church will be interested in the following topics, which are brought out in the subject index with reference to the library in each case where the material is especially abundant and valuable: Americana, Bellarmine correspondence, bibliography, Canadiana, Catholic Church history, Chaucer, Chicago, Dante, genealogy, history (of the United States and of the middle west), incunabula, Indians (American), Irish history, manuscripts, maps, Northwest Territory, papal bulls, patrology, Pius IX correspondence, portraits, World War. Teachers will find helpful the key to films and lantern slides, many of which may be borrowed for school use. No address is indicated at which copies may be obtained; but the chairman of the committee in charge of the preparation of the work in Jerome K. Wilcox, John Crerar Library, Chicago.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL, A. B.

Oconomowoc, Wis.

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1931-1932. By Pierre-Georges Roy. (Rédempti Paradis, Imprimeur de sa Majeste le Roi, 1932).

M. Pierre-Georges Roy, archivist of the Province of Quebec, has made a recent addition to his already stupendous output of archival material. His voluminous report for the year 1931-1932 contains much matter of incalculable value to the research student. It deals with four blocs of documentary material: (1) *Le Mémoire du Chevalier de La Pause*; (2) *Correspondence des évêques de Quebec*; (3) *Les engagements pour l'Ouest*; (4) *Le Journal de Louis-Auguste Rossel*. The first and last items have been printed in their entirety; the second and third have been very thoroughly indexed and summarized.

The memoir of *La Pause* contains the notes, observations, and reactions of that chevalier during his sojourn in New France. He describes Quebec, Ste. Foy, Ste. Anne, Frontenac etc. and adds some hitherto unknown details concerning the

campaigns of 1755, 1757 and 1759. The document has been printed from a photostatic copy preserved in the Quebec archives. The original is in the possession of the Countess Ledinghem, a descendant of La Pause.

In the second part of the report, l'Abbé Caron continues his calendar of the correspondence of the bishops of Quebec. Here are the letters of a particularly interesting period. Mgr. Pierre Denaut followed Mgr. Jean-Francois Hubert in 1794, and we have a very complete summary of his episcopal career beginning with the bulls of Pius VI (September 30, 1794) and ending with the sermon preached at the funeral of Mgr. Denaut in 1806. The one hundred and twelve finely printed pages of this *Inventaire* are preceded by a short biographical note on the writer of the letters. The originals are kept in the archives of the Archbishop of Quebec.

The third series is likewise a continuation from previous reports. It is entitled "Repertoire des Engagements pour L'Ouest Conservés dans les Archives Judiciaires de Montréal (1670-1778)." As the title indicates, these papers are to be found, not in the provincial archives, but in the *Archives Judiciaires* in Montreal. The calendar is being prepared by the chief archivist, E. Z. Massicotte.

M. Pierre-Georges Roy in his letter to M. David, Secretary of the Province, has remarked: "the more one studies this repertoire the more one realizes its value in determining genealogical data concerning Canadian families. Here may be found mentioned numerous names which apparently had been lost." The writer of this review can bear witness to the truth of this remark. A certain verbal tag following the family name has persisted without explanation through several generations. In this repertoire the names of three forbears appear; each name is followed by the same distinguishing appendage.

The fourth and last item in this extremely valuable collection is "Journal de ma Campagne à L'le Royale (1757)." The original of this memoir by Louis Auguste Rossel is in the provincial archives.

In addition to this very well calendared material the *Rapport* contains some interesting illustrative matter. A portrait of Mgr. Denaut serves as frontispiece. Numerous plates represent objects of interest housed in the Museum and Archives of Quebec. Among others are photographs of the reconstructions of

the habitation of Champlain; the house of Montcalm; the Canadian *Parlement* of 1854; Chateau Saint-Louis; Kent House and the ancient church of Beaumont.

The materials in this model report are made readily accessible to the student by means of a detailed table of contents; an equally detailed table of illustrations; an index of proper names and an index of places.

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